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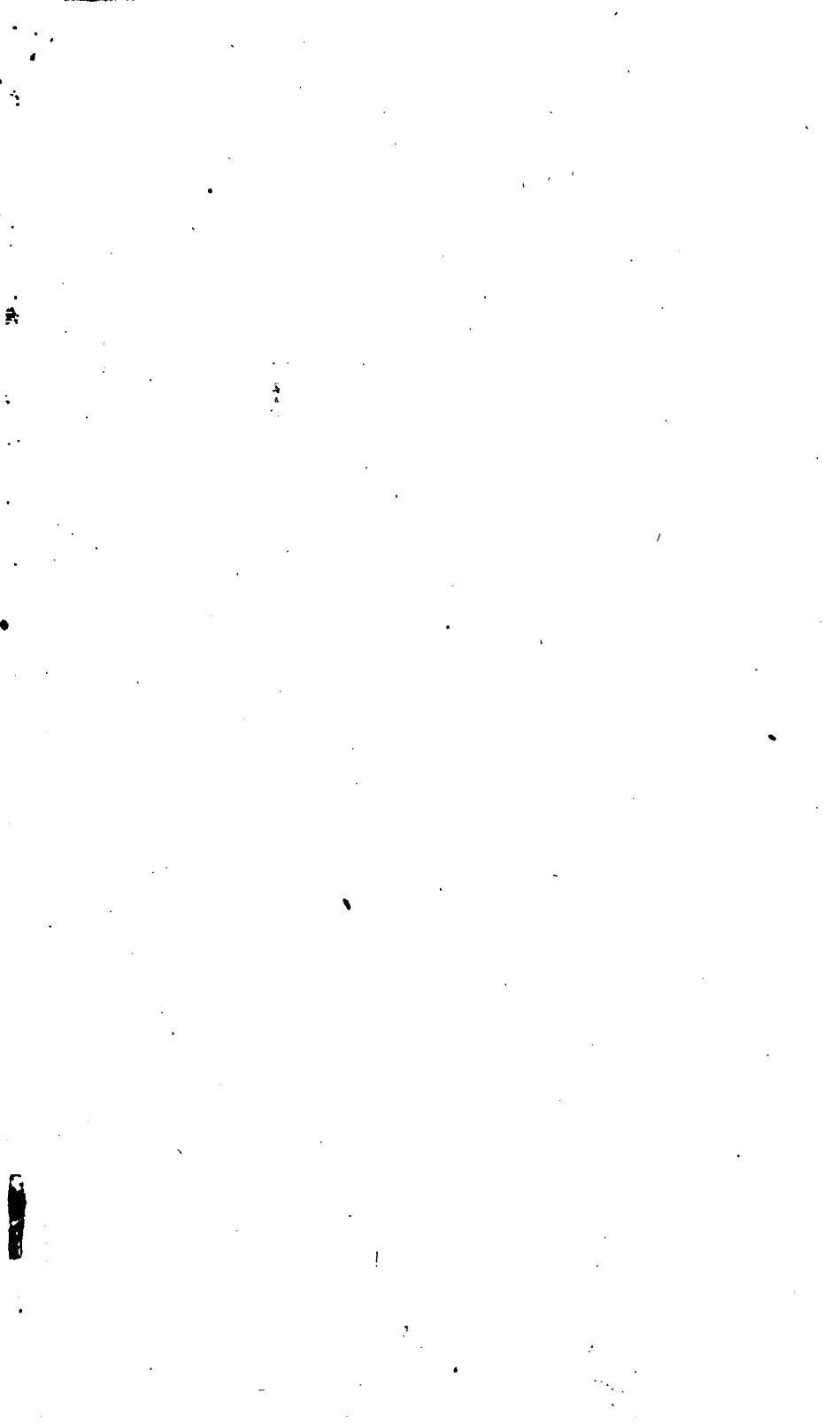
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THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,

FROM
THE UNION OF THE CROWNS ON THE ACCESSION
OF JAMES VI. TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND,
TO THE
UNION OF THE KINGDOMS IN THE REIGN
OF QUEEN ANNE.

By MALCOLM LAING, Esq.

WITH TWO DISSERTATIONS, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL,
ON THE GOWRIE CONSPIRACY, AND
ON THE SUPPOSED AUTHENTICITY OF OSSIAN'S POEMS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK VII.

New Government and Parliament.—Execution of Argyle, Guthry, Wariston. — Prelacy restored, Presbyterian Clergy ejected.—Middleton's rapacity, excesses, and disgrace.—Ecclesiastical commission, military persecution, and insurrection in the West.—Government mitigated and the presbyterians indulged.—Lauderdale's tyrannical administration. Persecution of conventicles.—Mitchel's trial.

FROM the civil and religious wars of the two kingdoms, in which it is seldom possible to separate the interest, or the share of either, we return to the domestic transactions of Scotland, whose history, from the restoration to the union, continues unmixed and almost unconnected with English affairs. Many years of undisturbed tranquillity

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1660.
Public expectations
and joy at
the restoration.

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were

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were expected from the sincere, and universal joy which the restoration diffused. The affectionate loyalty which the people expressed, was confirmed by the gracious and popular deportment of the king. The fairest hopes were entertained of the prosperity of the new reign; which nothing could have disappointed but the misconduct or rather the crimes of government; the predilection of Charles for a foreign interest; his secret attachment to the Romish faith; and above all his perseverance in the arbitrary measures which his father had pursued. It was from these and other causes, that the government of Scotland became hostile and gradually odious to the people, till it degenerated at length into a sanguinary, and cruel despotism, for which there was no cure but the expulsion of the Stewarts.

New ministry.

The government still remained in the hands of the English, while the nobility and principal gentry hurried to court, to prefer their allegiance or advice for the settlement of the kingdom. The royalists were preceded and led by Glencairn and Middleton; but their diligence was outstript by the earl of Lauderdale, who had accompanied the English commissioners to the Hague, on his release from the tower. In return for his services and sufferings during ten years imprisonment, he obtained the office of secretary, the more desirable as it required his attendance at court, and of the numerous ministers who rose and sunk during the course of the reign, his ascendancy subsisted the longest over the mind of the king. The earl of Crawford, who had suffered the same imprisonment, was restored

stored to the treasury; Rothes was appointed president of council, Glencairn chancellor, Middleton commissioner to the approaching parliament. The authority of the committee of estates was revived, in order to supersede the administration of the English judges, and by the advice of Clarendon, a counsel for Scottish affairs was established at Whitehall.

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Two important considerations occurred, in the settlement of Scotland, whether to preserve the garrisons introduced by Cromwell, and what form of ecclesiastical government to prescribe for the church. Clarendon and Monk were averse to the removal of the English garrisons, whose presence they considered as still necessary to restrain a mutinous nation, prone to rebellion, by military force. Lauderdale represented, with that consummate art which denotes his character, that it was not less ungenerous than unpolitic to prolong the servitude which the nation, after the loss of two armies, had incurred from its loyal attachment to the crown; that the measure would be productive of national disgust, and in the event of an insurrection in England, the garrisons left by Monk as the most disaffected part of a fanatical army, would be joined by the Scots; that the time might come, when, instead of English garrisons in Scotland, his majesty would require Scottish garrisons in England, to repress the turbulence of a wealthy people; and that the nation, relieved from a badge

Removal of
the garrisons.

* Burnet, i. 147. Baillie, ii. 442. Clarendon's Life, ii. 97.

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Settlement
of the
church

of ignominious subjection, might be rendered the more instrumental and subservient to his designs. As Glencairn and Middleton were afraid, though desirous, to oppose their removal, or to incur the reproach of an unpopular advice, the citadels and forts were demolished, and when supplies were procured for their discharge, the disaffected troops were disbanded or withdrawn*.

In the settlement of an ecclesiastical government, Charles was peculiarly embarrassed by the treaty at Breda. When invited to Scotland on his father's death, he had sworn and subscribed the covenant, and confirmed the presbyterian church as the conditions of his accession, and although the nation was unable to preserve him on the throne, the oaths renewed at his coronation remained unrepealed. If it was difficult to observe, it was dishonourable to violate the conditions formerly accepted, when there was no choice unless to relinquish the crown; but if the word of a prince is to be reputed sacred, no violence; nor state necessity could afford a pretext to dispense with his oaths. However disgusted with the presbyterians during his residence in Scotland, the king himself was indifferent to religion; but Clarendon, whose mind was contracted and soured by religious bigotry, was irreconcilable to the very existence of their church. That upright and able, but not enlightened statesman, had already prepared the most intolerant measures for the revival of the hierarchy, which he urged the

* Clarendon's Life, ii. 406. Burnet, i. 151.

king

king to restore in Scotland, by a violation of those solemn engagements which his own conscience would never have infringed. The earls of Glencairn and Middleton concurred in the same design; and, at a time when the majority of the nation were rigid presbyterians, did not hesitate to assert, that the people were disgusted with the influence of the ecclesiastical courts, and desirous of a change. They returned with instructions to examine, and prepare the nation for the introduction of prelates; while Sharp, to appease the suspicions of the public resolutioners, whom he had secretly deserted on the offer of the primacy, procured a letter from Charles that confirmed their assemblies, and promised to preserve the government of the church inviolate, as established by law. As the presbyterian was then the established religion, the resolutioners were easily deceived by a mean equivocation unworthy of a king; or were gratified perhaps by the persecution of the remonstrants, whom the committee of estates had imprisoned or dispersed³.

The parliament was opened by Middleton, with a splendor to which the nation had been long unaccustomed. The elections had been secured by the chancellor's management. Obnoxious candidates were imprisoned or summoned to appear as delinquents; and the nobility vied with the com-

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Parliament.
Its character

³ Woodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 7. 13. Crawford's History, MS. vol. ii. l. 5. 429. Clarendon's Life, ii. 101.

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Loss of the
public re-
cords.

mons in their devotion to the crown. The original covenanters were mostly extinguished. A new generation had arisen under the English government, inured to servitude, educated in penury, or impoverished by forfeitures; and as an indemnity was still ungenerously withheld from Scotland, they were either exposed to punishment from their past compliances, or insatiate and eager to procure confiscations and fines*. A new spirit appeared in the nation, whose fervid genius is ever in extremes; if submissive, prone to adulation and the utmost servility; when attached to civil or religious liberty, fierce, ardent, and enthusiastic in the pursuit. Not a few were estranged from the severe morals which the covenant prescribed; but the intemperance and excesses of the royalists were offensive to the people, whose disgust was increased by an unforeseen disaster which the nation incurred. The crown and sceptre had been secreted, during the usurpation, in the North; but the public records, which Monk had removed to London, were detained by Clarendon till the summer had elapsed, to discover the original covenant and declarations which the king had subscribed. They were shipped for Scotland after a fruitless search; but the vessel was wrecked in the winter season, and the records of the kingdom were irrecoverably lost. A disaster which it is impossible to estimate is naturally exaggerated, and we deplore the loss of those historical

* Baillie, ii. 449. Woodrow, i. 21. Kirkton's History of the late Revolution in the Church, MS. Advocates' Library.
memorials

memorials which escaped the destructive policy of Edward I. Yet if a few historical records have perished, an impure and enormous mass of judicial proceedings does not deserve regret ^{BOOK VII. 1661.}

The first consideration, when the parliament proceeded to public business, was to restore and assert the prerogative to its full extent. The chancellor was received as official president; the nomination of judges, counsellors, and officers of state, was declared a branch of the divine prerogative, inherent in kings. The command of the militia, the power of declaring war, the right to summon or dissolve conventions, parliaments, and public assemblies, were acknowledged to reside in the crown alone, and as the happiness of the people consists in maintaining the prerogative entire, to oppose or impugn the authority of the act was converted into treason. Illegal convocations, leagues, and bonds, were severely prohibited. The covenant was indirectly repealed, by an act to prevent its renewal without the king's consent. His supremacy was indirectly established by an oath of allegiance, that the sovereign was supreme governor in all cases, over all persons, ecclesiastical and civil; and although the chancellor protested that no authority was implied in communion or in discipline, the presbyterians demanded in vain, that the explanation, supreme *civil* governor, should be inserted in the oath. An ample recognition of the prerogative was required from persons in public office;

Prerogative restored.

⁵ Woodrow, i. 18. Burnet, i. 157. Ayloff's Calendar of Charters, p. 354.

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but the oath of allegiance was imposed indiscriminately, as a fruitful source of persecution, on all persons, at the pleasure of the council, under the penalty of incapacitation from public trust. Instead of the monthly assessments exacted by Cromwell, an excise of forty thousand pounds a-year was conferred on the king for life, to preserve the public tranquillity by a military force⁶. To restore the prerogative of which the crown had been despoiled, was perhaps unexceptionable; but in these acts, the late proceedings of the nation was indiscriminately condemned, and the prerogative was magnified by rhetorical flourishes, to the most exalted despotism.

Former
parliaments
rescinded
from the
beginning
of the civil
war.

The commissioner had been selected as exempt from scruples, and although his natural violence was heightened by intemperance⁷, an obsequious parliament was prepared to yield to his most extravagant demands. The lords of articles became impatient and tired of particular reversals. But there were two parliaments whose acts it was difficult, yet necessary to repeal, in order to absolve the king from his promise to preserve the established church. His father had presided in the one, and himself in the other. The presbyterian church was confirmed by the acts of both; the repeal of which might

⁶ Parl. 1661, ch. 5. 7. 11, 12. 14. 34.

⁷ Middleton was of a good family in the North, but of no estate; and rose from a pikeman in Hepburn's regiment in France. Kirkton, MS. His father was murdered, sitting in his chair, by Montrose's soldiers, when they overrun the country in 1645. Woodrow.

excite a spirit of remonstrance, sufficient to deter the king from the introduction of prelates. A general *rescissory* act was suggested, to annul the parliaments themselves, from the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-three, as injurious to the prerogative, or defective in form; and a proposal made in jest, was adopted in earnest, from the feverish intoxication of Middleton and his friends. The constraint under which the crown was supposed to labour, had no place in the parliament held in one thousand six hundred and forty-one, when the late king attended, and ratified its acts from choice; the parliament in one thousand six hundred and forty-eight was chosen and directed by his particular instructions, to confirm the engagement. But the commissioner maintained that the former had been held in the interval between two rebellions, when the necessity of affairs, without any personal violence, had imposed a real constraint on the king; while the latter, to conciliate the fanatics, had entered into the engagement on such hypocritical terms, that its whole proceedings deserved to be condemned. Notwithstanding a vigorous opposition from Crawford, Cassils, Loudon, and the old covenanters, the act was approved by a large majority, and ratified without expecting instructions from court. The covenants, and the laws that established presbytery, were virtually repealed; and with some improper limitations on prerogative, every constitutional barrier was thus removed. But the act was more pernicious still, as a precedent destructive of all security in government,

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ment, and of all confidence between the people and the king. The laws were open, they affirmed, if defective, to amendment and review; but if one parliament, under the pretext of fear, or the necessity of public affairs, can rescind another, the first principles of government are subverted. A future legislature may annul the present, on the same pretext that the present abrogates those whose public treaties and indemnities, which are ever to be reputed sacred, were confirmed by the crown*.

Excesses of
the times.

These times are described by Burnet as mad and riotous; full of extravagance, for the men engaged in public affairs were almost perpetually drunk. The most important and violent acts, that reversed the former constitution and government, are explained by the constant intoxication of ministers; and the commissioner often appeared so drunk on the throne, that the parliament was adjourned. The most licentious intemperance and excess of debauchery were termed loyalty, gravity, sedition^o; and the trial and attainder of delinquents, was perhaps the only subject that engrossed the serious or sober consideration of the estates.

Trial of
Argyle.

When the king was restored, on the promise of an amnesty to his English subjects, no indemnity was promised or proposed for Scotland; and it was deemed expedient that the nation should still remain at the mercy of the crown. Argyle, encouraged by some equivocal expressions of Charles,

* Parl. 1661, ch. 15. Burnet, i. 168. Baillie, ii. 451.

^o Burnet, i. 174. Kirkton, MS. 16. 30.

had repaired privately to court, but the royalists who grasped at his possessions, were apprehensive of a crafty, insinuating statesman, whose former credit with the king might revive. On demanding admittance to the royal presence, he was committed to the Tower, and accused of a secret accession to the murder of the late king. His trial was remitted to Scotland, where he was produced and arraigned in parliament on separate indictments of oppression and treason. The severities inflicted on the royalists during the civil wars, the cruelties retaliated in the adherents of Montrose, were accumulated in his indictments. He was accused as the author of every national act from the commencement of the wars; as an accessory to the surrender and execution of the king; and an actor under the late usurpation, in opposition to those who appeared for the crown. His defence was vigorous and plausible at least, if not always just. He affirmed that the atrocities imputed to his clan were partly fictitious, partly exaggerated¹⁰; committed during his absence in England, from the violence of the times; and that a cruel revenge was to be expected from his people, whose country had been twice wasted with fire, and devoted to

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Feb. 13.His de-
fence.

¹⁰ We may judge of the extravagance of the charge, and the fanaticism of the accusers themselves, from a fact asserted in his first indictment; that a tree on which thirty-six of his enemies were hanged, was immediately blasted, and when hewn down, a miraculous and copious stream of a bloody hue, with which the earth was deeply saturated, was emitted for several years from the root. State Trials, ii. 422.

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the sword. His transactions during the war were conducted under the authority of the legislature, to whom the surrender of the king must be ascribed; but his public transactions were protected from inquiry, by the act of oblivion, passed in consequence of the treaty of Rippon, and the indemnity granted by Charles in the parliament at Stirling, of which the records were lost, but the memory was still recent in the minds of men. His compliance with the late usurpation was necessary for his preservation, or excusable from the contagious example of the times. While resistance was practicable he was the last to submit; but his solitary resistance, after the nation had submitted to a conqueror, would neither have secured himself, nor restored the king. From his peculiar situation in life, more than a passive compliance was required for his preservation; and if to mitigate the oppression of his country, he was returned a member to Richard's parliament, the recognition of a power *de facto*, and without his assistance in possession of the government, never implied an acknowledgment of its original title; much less a treasonable opposition to the rightful heir, while excluded from the throne. "What could I think," he exclaimed, "or how suppose, that these unhappy compliances were criminal, at the time when a man so learned as his majesty's advocate received the same oaths to the commonwealth with myself." Sir John Fletcher, lord advocate, interrupted and reviled him in the most opprobrious terms, but he calmly replied, that he had learned in his afflictions to endure

endure reproach; and perceiving his ruin predetermined, demanded, but was denied permission to submit implicitly to the mercy of the king ¹¹.

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Condemned to death,

During this important trial, the most solemn which the nation had ever witnessed, lord Lorn was employed to solicit favour for his father at court. He procured a royal mandate, not to prosecute any public offences previous to the indemnity granted at Stirling, nor to pronounce a sentence, till the whole trial was submitted to the king. The first part of the order was imperfectly obeyed; the last, as expressive of a mistrust in parliament, was recalled. The commissioner, anxious that Argyle should suffer as a regicide, to prevent the restitution of his family to his estate and honours, undertook the management of the debate in person, which he conducted as if forgetful of his own dignity, or the decency requisite in a public character. From the secret consultations held with Cromwell, when invited to Scotland to suppress the engagement, he concluded that the interruption of the treaty at Newport, and the execution of the late king, had been concerted with Argyle. An attainder founded on such weak and remote presumptions, was abhorred by many, and opposed by president Gilmour with a force of argument that compelled the reluctant parliament to exculpate Argyle from all accession to the death of the king ¹². Nothing but his compliance with the usurpation re-

¹¹ State Trials, ii 418. vii. 379. Woodrow, i. 42.

¹² Id. 54. Burnet, i. 174.

maintained.

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May 25.

mained. While his conviction was still uncertain, Monk, with his accustomed baseness, transmitted to parliament some confidential letters from Argyle, expressive of a cordial attachment to the protector's government¹³. They arrived after the evidence was finished, but were read by Middleton in the midst of the debate. The perfidious friendship of Monk, and the violation of every judicial form, excited general indignation; but the unexpected appearance of Argyle's correspondence silenced his friends, who withdrew from an unavailing opposition to his fate. Sentence of treason was immediately pronounced. He was condemned to be beheaded within two days, and his head affixed to the public prison, to replace that of Montrose, for whose remains a splendid funeral was ordained. He requested in vain a respite of ten days, till his sentence was communicated to the king, and complained in the spirit of enthusiasm, "I have placed
" the crown upon his head, and this is my reward !
" but he hastens me to a better crown than his
" own ; nor can you deprive me of that eternal
" indemnity which you may require yourselves."

And executed.
May 27.

The interval between his sentence and execution was spent with the clergy, in religious exercises, and he prepared for death with a fortitude not expected from the natural timidity of his character. On the morning of his execution, he wrote a letter to the king, to vindicate his own memory and implore protection for his son. He dined with his

¹³ See NOTE I.

friends

friends at noon, before ascending the scaffold, and was accompanied by several of the nobility to the place of execution. His appearance on the scaffold was solemn but intrepid. He spoke in vindication of his own innocence, deplored the times that were likely to ensue, and exhorted the people to suffer rather than offend against their conscience, or abandon the covenant. After an interval of devotion, he submitted his neck to the block, and his head was separated by the descent of the maiden ¹⁴.

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The public hatred which he had incurred while alive, was converted into general commiseration at his death. His attainder was justly imputed to the enmity, his precipitate death to the impatience and insatiate desire of Middleton to procure a gift of his titles and estate; and as happens wherever a statesman suffers, whether from national justice or revenge, his execution served to exalt and relieve his character, from the obloquy which would have continued attached to it had he been permitted to survive. His letters to Monk are lost, and the records of his trial have been carefully destroyed. But we discover from Thurloe's papers, that he was obnoxious to Cromwell and to Monk himself, as a suspected royalist, and excluded during the usurpation, from employment or trust ¹⁵. Under a jealous usurpation, professions of the most zealous attachment were requisite for the preservation of a suspected royalist; and we must conclude that

His sentence,

¹⁴ Woodrow, i. 51. 157. Kirkton, MS. 26. Burnet, i. 179.

¹⁵ Thurloe's State Papers, vi. 341. vii. 584.

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And character
examined.

the letters employed for his destruction were necessary to appease the suspicions or resentment of Monk. His original share, as a chief instrument in the civil wars, of which he was not convicted, is represented as some apology for the sentence on which he was executed; but the apology becomes the more dangerous as a pretext that is never wanting for judicial murder. Originally driven into rebellion, by an insidious plan to invade and deprive him of a large part of his estate¹⁶, he incurred the imputation of whatever violent measures it was necessary to tolerate, or impossible to prevent. But his character, impartially examined, was that of a better patriot than a subject, more attached to the national religion than to the interests of the crown. His ambition was regulated by habitual prudence, penetration, experience, and consummate address; but his sagacity was not always exempt from enthusiasm; his prudence was apt to degenerate into craft, and the apprehensions which his subtle dexterity excited, occasioned his destruction. His services in the recall of Charles to Scotland, deserved a better fate; but his enemies were disappointed by Lauderdale's intercession, and his son was afterwards restored to a part of his titles, and the possession of his estate.

Guthry
executed.
June 1.

The next was Guthry, a clergyman accused of framing or promoting the western remonstrance, and protesting against the authority of the king, or the interposition of the council, in ecclesiastical

¹⁶ See vol. i. p. 147.

affairs.

affairs. To decline the authority of either was treason, but the punishment, from its undue severity, had never been inflicted; and the offence itself, if aggravated by the violence of his publications, was extenuated, and ought to have been obliterated, at the distance of ten years, by his resolute opposition to the usurper's government. But his real crimes were a sentence of excommunication which he had formerly pronounced against the commissioner, and the report of some personal indignities which he had offered to the king. His defence was firm, yet pronounced with such pathetic effect, that many withdrew from a concern in his sentence or death. He was executed with an obscure deserter, and died with that unshaken fortitude and contempt of life which enthusiasm inspires. Rutherford was removed by an opportune death; Gillespie and other remonstrants were preserved by a confession of their guilt. Wariston, who had escaped to the continent, was attainted, and Swinton, who had turned quaker, acknowledged his offences with such ingenuous contrition, that he was recommended to mercy, but deprived of his estate¹⁷.

The parliament was at length adjourned, and the government again vested in the privy council. At once a court of justice and a council of state, in which policy must ever predominate over the laws, the institution necessarily became tyrannical;

Parliament
adjourned.
July 12.

¹⁷ Kirkton, MS. Crawford, MS. Woodrow, i. 68. Burnet, i. 180. Baillie, iv. 453.

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Revival.

the judicial functions were united with the executive powers of the state, and a legislative authority not unfrequently assumed.

The commissioner was not less solicitous to gratify Clarendon's zeal, on whose friendship he depended, than to strengthen his own interest in parliament, by the introduction of prelates. On his return to court, he represented that the times were propitious, and the nation not averse to the revival of their order; and that the attempt should be made during the present fervor which the restoration had excited, before the presbyterians obtained an indemnity to relieve their fears. His assertions were implicitly confirmed by Sharp, but the king, who had observed the former repugnance of the nation to ecclesiastical pre-eminence, was still indifferent or averse to a change. His mind was secretly impressed with the artful, yet judicious suggestions of Lauderdale, that episcopacy was recommended by none but those who solicited preferment; that the introduction of prelates, in opposition to public and inveterate prejudices, might alienate the nation, which it was his interest to conciliate; and that the preservation of their order, instead of contributing to the authority, would require the constant support and protection of government. But his English and Irish ministers, Clarendon and Ormond, affirmed that it would be very difficult to preserve the episcopal church, especially in Ireland, from the fury of the dissenters, unless the example of presbytery were removed from their view. Amidst such discordant sentiments,

ments, the propriety of the attempt was referred to the privy-council of Scotland, where the imprisonment of the earl of Tweeddale, for his opposition in parliament to the execution of Guthry, had repressed all freedom of opinion or debate. Glencairn the chancellor, who proposed an humble and moderate episcopacy, procured a report that the intended change would give general satisfaction; and the revival of the hierarchy was no longer deferred. When Lauderdale was admonished by Charles, that the presbyterian religion was unfit for a gentleman, and improper to be continued, that obsequious politician urged, with an insidious violence, the innovation which he could no longer prevent, and thus the intolerant bigotry of Clarendon, the ambition of some, and the assentation of others, betrayed the king into the most pernicious measures of the two preceding reigns¹⁸.

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The suffragan bishops were recommended by Sharp, on whom the metropolitan see of St. Andrews was bestowed. But as Sydsferf alone, of the former prelates, survived at the restoration, it was necessary to resort again to the English church, for that apostolical succession which a single bishop is unable to confer. Had the restoration been delayed for a few years, the English church might have expired herself with her aged prelates; and the nation, reduced to a dire dilemma, must have acknowledged the presbyterial ordination to the priesthood as valid, or solicited a new consecration

And consecration of prelates.

¹⁸ Woodrow, i. 96. Burnet, i. 187.

from the Romish yoke. But her danger did not inspire moderation. At the consecration of Spotswood, the subordinate orders of priesthood had been conferred or supplied by the episcopal character; but Sharp and Leighton were required, before they were consecrated, to submit to episcopal ordination, as deacons and priests. The ordination of Fairfoul and Hamilton was strictly canonical, and the four bishops were dismissed, when duly consecrated, to propagate the apostolical order in Scotland. They were received and conducted to the capital, by the chancellor and nobility in solemn procession. No mark of external respect or pomp was omitted, to impress the people with veneration and esteem. When the parliament was resumed, they were invited by a deputation from each estate, and introduced in triumph to their ancient seats. But their revenues were inadequate to their rank: their characters were unequal to the stations to which they were unexpectedly preferred. Leighton, the most learned and respectable of their number, united the most devout and ascetic virtues, with an indulgent charity and extensive toleration. But the rest were remiss in the discharge of their functions, and distinguished rather by zeal than sanctity; the violence of Sharp was no longer disguised; and they were destitute of moderation and talents, to recall and conciliate a disaffected church.¹⁹

¹⁹ Burnet, i. 191. 200—5. Baillie, ii. 466. Woodrow, i. 101—14, 15.

The second session of parliament commenced with the government of the church, the regulation of whose external polity, according to the established laws and the advice of bishops, was transferred to the king. The authority of presbyteries, provincial and general assemblies, was annulled. The prelates, released from every restraint but the advice of ministers whose prudence or loyalty they might choose to consult, were restored to the plenitude of their former privileges, to the supreme and exclusive jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs. The covenants were repealed and abjured as unlawful oaths; and whatever might tend to excite a dislike to the prerogative, supremacy, or episcopal government, was punished as sedition. The rights of patronage were revived. The clergy admitted since its abrogation, were deprived of all title to their livings; and required, within four months, to procure a presentation from their patrons, and collation from the bishops; to acknowledge their authority, and attend their visitations and diocesan synods. The prelates introduced by James, had assumed nothing more than precedence, a share in ordination, and a negative voice in the assemblies of the church. The clergy continued to meet in presbyteries, and as there was no remedy, submitted to an usurpation which might innovate, without annulling the constitution or authority of their ecclesiastical courts. While they sat with their bishops, upon different principles, in the same tribunals, their opposition was confined within their own walls, or suffered to

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government,
May 8th.Established
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evaporate in idle protestations; and, amidst all the vicissitudes of government, the unity of the church was at least preserved. But in these acts, from the violent and precipitate ambition of Sharp, the foundations of episcopal government were inverted, and the whole power was transferred to the prelates. When the presbyteries and other judicatures were first interrupted, and then held as diocesan assemblies, the old and rigid presbyterians refused to sit or assist as the bishops' officials, and prepared to secede. They protested that it was hard indeed to submit to his authority, but impossible, without violence to their conscience, to acknowledge the exorbitance of his episcopal power. Men of the former episcopal persuasion, were dissatisfied at the exemption of the bishops from ecclesiastical control; and an imperious system of ecclesiastical polity, to which the nation was averse, and only to be reconciled by lenient measures, was universally disapproved²⁰.

Act of
indemnity.

When episcopal government was thus established, an act of indemnity and oblivion was no longer deferred; if an act more oppressive than indulgent can deserve that name. An unconditional indemnity was recommended by Lauderdale, as the sufferings of the nation, ever since the engagement, and its services to promote the restoration, were entitled to the same indulgence and grace with England. Unhappily Middleton's representations prevailed at court, that the royalists were improve-

²⁰ Woodrow. Burnett, i. 203.

rished

rihed or ruined by their adherence to the crown, whose revenues were anticipated, or insufficient for their relief; and that no means remained to reimburse their losses, unless their enemies were equitably amerced for rebellion. Some unavailing limitations were enjoined, that no fines should be imposed beyond their annual revenues, or for offences committed previous to the parliament at Stirling; and an additional exception from the indemnity was unwarily admitted, on Middleton's assurances that the parliament was desirous to incapacitate a few obnoxious delinquents from public trust. The indemnity was no sooner introduced into parliament, than a committee was appointed to determine the number of offenders, and the amount of their fines; but the members were sworn to secrecy, not to a faithful discharge of their trust; and it soon appeared that they were actuated by the worst passions of avarice and revenge. Their ears were open to accusations alone. In the promiscuous choice of offenders, no proof was admitted of innocence; no inquiry nor intimation was made of their guilt; no computation was even taken of their estates; but their names, as soon as accused, were inserted in an arbitrary list of fines. The most obnoxious offenders compounded in secret. Of such as were innocent or ignorant of their offences, a list of nine hundred were reported to parliament, whose fines amounted to eighty-five thousand pounds. Some were dead, or had resided abroad during the civil wars; others were infants; but to every objection there

Fines.

was a prompt reply; that the penalties were a composition for an indemnity which the innocent might relinquish, and, at their own peril, procure an exemption when pursued for their fines. Innocence, under a despotical government, was a dangerous alternative that would be embraced by none; but the fines which Middleton and his friends expected were intercepted by his fall, and as a subject of future oppression reserved for the crown".

Lord Lorn
condemned
for leasing-
making.

But the avarice of Middleton was insatiable; and his revenge was neither restrained by prudence, remorse, nor fear. The estate and titles of Argyle were solicited by his ambition, and the destruction of that unfortunate family was the object of his eager, unrelenting pursuit. Lord Lorn, in a confidential letter from court to his friend lord Duffus, had complained, perhaps with an unguarded freedom, of the calumnies employed to injure his credit with the king; but that he had discovered and defeated his enemies, and gained the man (the earl of Clarendon) on whom their leader (Middleton's) dependence was placed. The letter was intercepted by Middleton; and at the request of parliament, Lorn was remanded to Scotland for trial. It was peculiar perhaps to the Scottish jurisprudence, to prohibit the arts of court defamation as *leasing-making*, and to punish the complaints of the sufferers as sedition. As the complaint of calumnies, industriously conveyed to the royal ear, was calculated to excite sedition, or to sow dissen-

" Burnet, 211.

sions between the king and the people, Lorn, on his arrival, was arraigned on these old and tyrannical laws; and on his implicit submission to the mercy of the sovereign, for defence was unavailing; the same parliament, which in the preceding session had condemned his father, pronounced a similar sentence of death on the son. His execution was referred to Middleton, his implacable enemy; but his life was preserved by the injunctions of Charles, that no sentence should be inflicted without permission from court. But an act of unexampled severity was passed, to prohibit all intercession for the children of persons attainted in parliament, and to render them incapable of being restored by the king to their titles and estate. No penalty was annexed to the act. It was an approved maxim among the advocates for prerogative, that to specify the punishment imposed an undue limitation on the crown; but that a prohibitory act without a penalty, might extend to whatever arbitrary punishment was inflicted, less than death²².

Aug. 26.

Having persuaded the king that the parliament was desirous to incapacitate a few obnoxious delinquents from public trust, Middleton artfully infused into parliament, that the king was secretly disgusted at Lauderdale, and solicitous of such a decent pretext for his removal from office. An

Act of
ballotting.

²² Burnet, 215. Woodrow, i. 235—8. Kirkton, MS. 22. 38. Brown's Miscellanea Aulica, 209. See in Sir G. Mackenzie's Works, h. 401. an instance of this doctrine.

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act was prepared for the incapacitation of twelve persons by ballot, the result of which was to be scrutinized by a secret committee, nor divulged to parliament till approved by the king. The members were previously instructed how to frame their lists; and the earls of Lauderdale and Crawford were disqualified, among others, from public trust. The mail was diligently inspected; the stages were secured, to prevent the secret from transpiring at court, but lord Lorn transmitted the intelligence by private roads, and requited Lauderdale for the preservation of his life. Before the arrival of the commissioners from parliament, the king and Clarendon were prepossessed against the report which was indignantly rejected; and the advantage was improved and pursued by Lauderdale to his rival's disgrace. If public employments were ever conferred, punishments never were inflicted by ballot. But by a deception alternately practised on the parliament and the king, an invisible judgment was pronounced by ballot, in which the malice of his enemies was securely gratified, and a punishment not less severe than iniquitous, was dispensed without accusation or proof, and without intimation even of the impending danger²³. Clarendon acknowledged that the measure was inexcusable, but endeavoured to preserve his friend from disgrace, and until the king's anger should subside, advised

²³ *Miscellanea Aulica*, 213. Lauderdale's charge against Middleton is written with a vigour and eloquence seldom to be found in state papers; and conveys an advantageous idea of his talents.

him

him to proceed with diligence to enforce the laws so recently enacted for the preservation of the church.

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When the bishops held their diocesan synods, most of the ministers submitted in the north. In the western counties their resolution not to observe the acts, nor acknowledge, by any canonical obedience, the jurisdiction of the prelates, was confirmed by the patient fortitude of the numerous clergy, whom the act of uniformity had ejected in England. They concerted measures to avoid offence to the state if tolerated, but if silenced, to submit at once to the injunctions of the council; and expected, from the desolate state to which the church would be reduced, that if they stood and suffered together, they would be soon replaced. But the same example had instigated the fierce disposition of Middleton, to retrieve his declining credit at court by adopting the most exceptionable, and perhaps the only measure in the administration of Clarendon, which attaches to his memory an indelible stain of duplicity and persecution. In a progress through the western counties, an act of council was framed in a fit of absolute intoxication at Glasgow. Whatsoever ministers had neglected or declined to procure presentations from their patrons, and induction from the prelates, were ordained to remove from their parishes, or to be displaced if necessary by military force. Three hundred and fifty clergymen were ejected from their livings; above a third part of the church was displanted, and the tears excited by their valedictory sermons, were due

Clergy
ejected.

oa. i.

Nov. 1.

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1662.

due to their sufferings, when expelled from their homes in the winter season; deprived of their stipends for the preceding year; and with their numerous families left destitute of support. The commissioner imagined that the greater number would solicit indulgence or collation from their ordinaries, while the resistance of a few zealots would justify the severities which he was prepared to inflict. Their unexpected submission disappointed, but did not disarm his resentment. The most distinguished clergymen were selected for persecution, on the recent oath of allegiance to the king. However willing to acknowledge that his majesty was supreme *civil* governor in ecclesiastical affairs, their explanation of the oath was rejected, and as no penalties were annexed to the act, they were either confined to remote districts, or ordained to banish themselves from the kingdom for life. But the expulsion of the western clergy excited loud discontent. Their austere and exemplary deportment was universally respected. They were connected by consanguinity or marriage with the principal families, and from their endearing familiarity, and fervent devotion, were beloved by the people. The most ignorant or vicious of the clergy, the very refuse of the northern parts, were summoned by a general invitation, and easily admitted to the benefices of the west. But the negligence or irregular conduct of the new incumbents was ill calculated to remove the prejudices of the people; and the few who were above contempt, but from their violence beneath esteem and respect,

were

were equally detested as the others were despised. The people rejecting the instructions of the *surates*, seceded in search of the spiritual manna, that descended no longer around their tents. Each Sunday they abandoned their church and their parish in a body, to attend the worship of their former pastor; and as his habitation was too small or remote for their reception, conventicles first began to be held in the fields. The severities of the privy council were proportionably augmented. The ejected clergy were prohibited to approach within twenty miles of their former parishes, within six of Edinburgh, or a cathedral church, or within three miles of a royal borough; and when the means of earning their subsistence were interdicted, the common offices of humanity were proscribed, and the people were forbidden, under the same penalties of sedition, to contribute to their support²⁴.

From his riotous excesses, the administration of Middleton had become justly contemptible, and from his severities odious; but the removal of an imperious minister seldom proceeds from the sufferings or complaints of the people. The accusation preferred by Lauderdale, might have failed, had not Middleton's own indiscretion accelerated his disgrace. His services were magnified by the prelates, and on his return to court, he found powerful intercessors in Clarendon, Sheldon the primate, and Monk. But the king was incensed at

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Origin of
conventi-
cles.Middleton's
disgrace.

²⁴ Burnet, i. 221—1. Woodrow, i. 145—55—63. 205. App. 18. Kirkton's Manuscript, 44.

his

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1663.

Lauderdale
minister.His cha-
racter.

his presumption in countermanding an order procured and transmitted by Lauderdale to the privy-council, to prolong by proclamation the term prescribed for the discharge of fines. His disgrace produced general satisfaction, but the national joy was of short duration. His successors proved more impetuous, and worse than himself. Rothes was appointed commissioner to parliament, and attended by Lauderdale, to whom he was visibly subordinate; but Lauderdale himself was dependent on the prelates, and compelled to yield to their most furious demands²⁵. Originally not less attached to the covenant than at present to the court, he engaged in its measures with the zeal of a proselyte; determined that no compliance should be omitted to promote his ambition or preserve his place. His personal appearance is perhaps satirically described as enormous and uncouth; his hair was red and dishevelled; his tongue too big for distinct articulation; his address ungracious, and his manners coarse, boisterous, and unfuitable to the fastidious refinement of a court. During a long imprisonment, his mind had been carefully improved by study, and impressed with a sense of religion which was soon effaced on his return to the world. His learning was extensive and accurate; in public affairs his experience was considerable, and his elocution copious, though unpolished and indistinct. But his temper was dark and vindictive, incapable

²⁵ Clarendon's Life, ii. 96. 105. Hist. ii. 582. iii. 124. Burnet, i. 143.

of friendship, mean and abject to his superiors, haughty and tyrannical to his inferiors; and his judgment, seldom correct or just, was obstinate in error, and irreclaimable by advice. His passions were furious and ungovernable, unless when his interest or ambition interposed; his violence was ever prepared to suggest or to execute the most desperate counsels; and his ready compliance preserved his credit with the king, till his faculties were visibly impaired with age.

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When the parliament reassembled, Middleton's friends were removed from the articles, and the former mode of election revived. The prelates selected eight peers, who appointed eight prelates in return; the sixteen assumed an equal number of barons and burgeses, to whom the officers of state were superadded; and from the servility of the prelates, the nomination of the articles, and the independence of parliament were resigned to the crown. An act was passed at their instigation, against disobedience to ecclesiastical authority, and separation from church. The clergy, ejected or silenced by their bishop, were punishable as seditious if they presumed to preach. On their separation or absence from their parish church, landholders forfeited a fourth part of their rents, tenants and citizens a fourth part of their substance, the freedom of their corporations and the privilege of trade; and were subjected to whatever corporal punishment the privy council might choose to inflict ²⁶.

Parliament.
June 18.

²⁶ Parl. 1663. ch. i. 2. The act against separation preceded, and appears to have suggested the act against conventicles in England, passed 1664.

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A declaration framed in the preceding session, to abjure the covenant and renounce the right of resistance, was confirmed by the same severe penalty of incapacitation, and the loss of the privilege to trade; but the experience of every age may demonstrate, that the most solemn disavowal will never prevent the resumption of those rights which are deemed inalienable²⁷. An army of twenty-two thousand horse and foot was offered, not for internal defence, but to march wherever the sovereign might require. To enhance the value of his services, Lauderdale proposed, by this splendid offer, to represent the real utility and importance of Scotland, if an arbitrary government were introduced into England.

Wariston's
execution.
July 22.

Johnston of Wariston, who had escaped to the continent, and resided two years unmolested at Hamburgh, was discovered at Rouen on his removal to France, and delivered up to the resentment of the English court. When produced to receive sentence of death in the present parliament, his faculties were so much decayed, and his body so debilitated by age and sickness, or the treacherous prescription of the king's physician²⁸, that his
incoherent

²⁷ The declaration of Colville, a presbyterian clergyman, deserves to be recorded; that he wished the people to believe resistance unlawful, for the sake of public tranquillity, but that kings and their ministers should believe it lawful, and govern like men who might expect to be resisted. Burnet, i. 228.

²⁸ Strange as this circumstance may appear, it is asserted by Kirkton, who attended him in prison, and intimated in his speech on the scaffold, that he was poisoned at Hamburgh, and drained of sixty ounces of blood by Bates, author of the Elenchus

incoherent defence afforded a subject of cruel derision to his enemies, and a melancholy spectacle of compassion to his friends. His sentence in such a situation, was a reproach to government. Lauderdale durst not, however, befriend a man revered by the presbyterians, and against whom the king was personally exasperated. His faculties seemed to revive on the scaffold, where he spoke and suffered with devout enthusiasm. Among the presbyterians, his lengthened devotions, and zeal for the covenant, had procured a reputation of superior sanctity, which, as it was confirmed by martyrdom, is still preserved. But he was a man of no common understanding or genius; of an active, violent, and disinterested spirit, incapable of repose; of an extensive and tenacious memory; indefatigable application; a quick and vivid invention, ever fertile in expedients, a vehement, prompt, and impressive elocution; and at a time when the nobility themselves were statesmen, his political talents raised him from an obscure advocate, to a level with the prime nobility in affairs of state²⁹.

The dissolution of a servile, vindictive parliament was acceptable to the people. But the execution of its laws remained, in which the cruelties inflicted

Ecclesiastical commission.

chus Motuum, and physician successively to Cromwell and Charles II. Nor is it discountenanced by Bates's character, who permitted his friends to boast, after the restoration, that he had accelerated Cromwell's death by his prescriptions. *Biographia Brit.*

²⁹ Burnet, i. 37. 297. Naphtali. Wariston kept a minute diary of his life, which, if still extant, would explain the most secret transactions of the covenanters. Kirkton, MS.

by government are hardly consistent with the character of a civilized state. A court of ecclesiastical commission was procured by Sharp, consisting of nine prelates and thirty-five commissioners; but a bishop, with four assistants, composed a quorum, to which the civil and military officers were all subordinate. Neither time nor place was prescribed for their meetings; and an abulatory court was established on the principles of the inquisition; an ecclesiastical court, bound by no forms of law, was instituted to exercise a civil jurisdiction for the preservation of the church. Its summary proceedings were conducted without accusation, evidence, or defence. The persons cited were convicted on captious interrogatories, and if legal defences, or satisfactory answers, were returned to the questions, they were punished on their refusal to receive the oath of allegiance, which was invariably tendered, or to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the king. The violence of Sharp was abetted by Rothes, who overruled the moderation of the temporal judges; and the commission proceeding from imprisonment and ruinous penalties, to corporal punishments, appeared to emulate or exceed the severity of the privy council. Every petty or pretended riot was magnified into a conspiracy against the church or state. The gaols were crowded with prisoners; numbers ruined by penalties, sought a refuge among their countrymen in Ulster, till at length the people, preferring the danger of outlawry, refused, when summoned, to attend the commission; the lay commissioners refused

used to witness its illegal violence, and the commission sunk into such general contempt, that in two years it was suffered to expire³⁰.

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1665.

But a severer, and more extensive persecution was already introduced. The western counties, which continued refractory, were abandoned by government to military oppression wherever the people had deserted the church. The clergy were the sole accusers, the soldiers, at once the judges and instruments of justice, were commanded by Turner an Englishman, naturally ferocious and almost always drunk. Lists of recusants were presented by the clergy, and the people fined by Turner without examination, were *eaten up* by the military quartered upon them till the fines were discharged. The penalties were enormous; the insolence and oppressions of the soldiers intolerable. Neither the old and infirm, nor widowed or orphan indigence, were exempted from fines, which the soldiers were permitted to exact at discretion, on their absence from church; and as the landlords were rendered responsible for their tenants and servants, so the tenants were dragooned and ruined by quarterings if their landlords withdrew. Their substance was consumed or sold to discharge the penalties; their families were reduced to indigence and dispersed; and for three years this desolating persecution was successively resumed. Additional forces,

Military
persecution.

³⁰ Kirkton, 51. Burnet, i. 301—8. Woodrow, i. 192—7—9—223. Cruckshank's Church Hist. i. 183. Crawford's MS. Hist. ii. 74.

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1666.

to prevent the danger of an insurrection so industriously excited, were raised as an additional source of persecution. The fines imposed by the late parliament, which had been frequently suspended, but never entirely remitted by Charles, were appropriated to their support, and levied as usual, by free quarters and military execution. No defence nor exemption was admitted³¹. The complaints of the people were disregarded by government, and chastised by the soldiers. The indigent were dragged to prison, and the public gaols, which the high commission had filled and crowded, were emptied by the transportation of the prisoners to Barbadoes. The commons implored in vain the protection of their superiors, who durst not interpose; and under the influence of Sharp and the prelates, which Lauderdale's friends were unable to resist, the government seemed to be actuated by a blind resentment at its own subjects. Such was the insolence or apprehensions of the prelates, that twenty of the chief gentlemen in the western counties were imprisoned at their instigation for several years, to prevent the danger of an insurrection during the Dutch wars³².

Insurrection in the West.

The presbyterians had endeavoured hitherto to disarm the resentment of government by submission, but their submission had furnished an ad-

³¹ The king is represented by Hume, as endeavouring to mitigate or persuade his ministers to remit one half of the fines. But the fact is that they were levied intire, for his own use. Woodrow, i. 203—6—25—37.

³² Woodrow, 184—6—99—224—37. App. 86. Burnet, i. 308. Naphtali. Hind let loose, 184.

ditional

ditional pretext to prolong their miseries, and to justify those coercive measures to which such prompt, and unexpected obedience was given. Turner, in his third expedition, which continued upwards of seven months, had spread desolation and despair through the West. Many families were scattered and dispersed. Numbers, both of the gentry and peasants, were driven from their habitations, to lurk for concealment in morasses and mountains³³. The presbyterians perceived that their ruin was determined, and their sufferings had already risen to such an unhappy extreme, that no consideration could prevent their resistance, but the improbability of success. It is said that their clergy were encouraged to resist, by the confusion and dismay which the recent fire of London was expected to create. Their own account is more simple and correct. An indigent old man, unable to discharge the fines of the church, was bound and extended on the ground, to be conveyed to prison; but the peasants, moved with sudden indignation at this cruel treatment, disarmed the soldiers to procure his release. Despair and the apprehensions of an indiscriminate punishment, increased their numbers; and after securing the soldiers in the neighbourhood, they surprised Sir James Turner, who remained at Dumfries with a slender guard. He had no mercy to expect from their rage; on examining his instructions, however, his severities appeared comparatively so mild, that

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Nov. 13.

Nov. 15.

³³ Burnet, i. 341. Woodrow, i. 241—83.

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his life was preserved. Their numbers were still inconsiderable, but by the influence of some ejected clergy, they were augmented to two thousand on their arrival at Lanerk. There they renewed the covenant, after a solemn fast, and in a public declaration professed that their allegiance to the king was undiminished; protested that their recourse to defensive arms was to remove the oppressions under which they suffered, and demanded that their beloved presbytery should be re-established, and their ministers restored. Their commanders were Wallace and Learmont, two obscure officers, for the principal gentlemen were still imprisoned; but the spirit of the country was subdued by oppression; and in a fatiguing march towards the capital, instead of acquiring strength, they were deserted by half their numbers in a single night³⁴.

Nov. 27.

Defeated at
Pentland.

Röthes, a few days previous to the insurrection, had departed for court, and the government remained in the hands of Sharp, whose consternation was extreme. Dalziel, the general, collecting his forces at Glasgow, pursued the whigs, as the insurgents were denominated, who approached within a few miles of the capital. But the gates were secured and protected by cannon; the neighbouring gentlemen were summoned to its defence; the lawyers and principal inhabitants were embodied; and as all egress from the city was prohibited, the whigs were disappointed of the expected aid of their

³⁴ Burnet, 241—57. Law's Memoirs, MS. Advocates' Library. Kirkton's MS.

friends.

friends. They listened to an insidious cessation of arms, till almost surpris'd; but the proclamation requiring them to disperse, contained no offer of indemnity or pardon. Their numbers were reduced to eight hundred, dispirited and exhausted by want, disappointment, and fatigue. On attempting to return by the Pentland hills, they were overtaken by Dalziel, whom they repulsed at first in different attacks; but at sunset their ranks were lost, or broken by the cavalry, and they were overpowered and dispersed. Not above fifty were killed, nor more than an hundred and thirty taken in the pursuit. The rest were preserved by the darkness of the night, the fatigue of the king's troops, and the compassion of the gentlemen who compos'd the cavalry, for their unhappy countrymen, whom oppression had rendered mad and desperate, but whose behaviour during the insurrection was inoffensive and mild. The inhabitants in the vicinity were less merciful, and many of the fugitives were intercepted and slain³⁵.

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Nov. 22.

No sooner were the two archbishops released from their terror, than the common observation was fully verified, that cowardice and cruelty are seldom disjoined. Whether the public faith is to be observed with rebels, whether they should be tried and punished for treason, after surrendering on assurance of quarter, a question which the victorious party must ever determine, was agitated in vain. The most moderate of the episcopal clergy

Executions.

³⁵ Kirkton's MS. Woodrow, i. 253. Burnet, i. 345.

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1666.

1667.

urged in vain, that an opportunity had occurred to conciliate the people, by their humane intercession for the lives of the prisoners, and their interposition to preserve the country from military oppression. But the prelates, who considered revenge as more profitable and useful to their order than clemency, indulged or instigated the most sanguinary revenge. Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow, proposed that such as refused to abjure the covenant, should be indiscriminately executed. Sharp, who presided in council, incited the clergy to inform against their parishioners, nor were they unwilling or slow to perform that disgraceful task. Above twenty of the unfortunate prisoners were executed at Edinburgh; ten on the same gibbet, whose heads were placed on the city gates, and their right arms sent for the same purpose to Lanerk, where the covenant was subscribed. Thirty-five were executed in the country, at their own doors; and to discover the origin of a casual insurrection, some were inhumanly tortured before their death³⁶. Their lives were conditionally promised, if they would renounce the covenant, but they died with such exultation, that it was difficult at last to procure executioners; they bestowed such solemn testimonials on the covenant, that their declarations on the scaffold were silenced with drums. Executions became so frequent, that an order arrived from court to prevent the judicial effusion of blood.

³⁶ Kirkton's MS. Mackenzie's Works, ii. 218. Woodrow, i. 257—9. Shields' Hind let loose, 186,

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It was withheld from council by the two archbishops, till the execution of Maccaill, a young preacher, whom they had excruciated to extort a confession of his associates, or of the conspiracies from which the insurrection was supposed to originate. The common instruments of torture were boots of iron, within which the leg was compressed with wedges. But Maccaill endured the torture till his leg was crushed and broken; and expired in ecstasy on the scaffold, exclaiming with a sublime enthusiasm, "Farewel, thou sun and moon! the world and all its delights, farewell! Welcome, God my father! welcome, Christ my redeemer! welcome, glory and eternal life! welcome, death!" At these rapturous exclamations, uttered in a voice and manner peculiarly impressive, every eye was suffused with tears³⁷. As if public vengeance were not yet satiated, military execution was introduced into the West. The severities which Turner inflicted on the people, were surpassed by Dalziel and Drummond; officers of a brutal character, inured to cruelty in the Russian service. Some were put to the sword, or executed on the highway without a trial; others were tortured with lighted matches fastened to their fingers, to extort confession; and among the atrocities imputed to Dalziel, a son was executed because he refused to discover his father; a woman accessory to her husband's escape, was tortured to death³⁸. The soldiers were indulged

Military
execution.

³⁷ Kirkton's MS. Naphtali.

³⁸ Id. 67. Burnet, i. 349.

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in every species of military excess. Rapes, robberies, and murder were committed with impunity, and the prisoners arrested on suspicion were stript and thrust into crowded, contracted, and unwholesome gaols. Instead of penalties, a sufficient number of soldiers were quartered on recusants, to ruin or *eat them up* in a single night. The clergy, instead of interceding for the people, abetted the crimes of the military with whom they associated, aided or directed their violence, connived at their excesses, and amidst calamities productive of a transient conformity, rejoiced at the golden age which the church enjoyed. The western counties were subjected for seven months to every species of military outrage, till the appearance of a Dutch fleet in the Forth recalled the troops to the protection of the coast ³⁹.

Trials and
conviction
in absence,

Nor were the judges permitted to escape the infamy of the times. It was an established maxim, adopted from the Roman law, and even in questions of treason confirmed by statute, that none could be condemned in absence, or deprived by outlawry of a legal trial on their appearance in court ⁴⁰. A salutary maxim, necessary to prevent the indiscriminate prescription of adverse parties, was so firmly established, that when trial after death was introduced by statute, the bones of the deceased, to preserve the forms, if not the spirit of justice, were presented at the bar; and when decrees

³⁹ Kirkton's MS. Woodrow, i. 264. Naphtali. Hind let loose, 186.

⁴⁰ Parl. 1587, ch. 91.

of *forfaulture* were pronounced in parliament, against the absent, no sentence was passed till they were produced and heard in their own defence⁴¹. BOOK
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But the gentlemen, whose estates the government was desirous to confiscate, remained concealed or were preserved by flight; and the authority of the court of session was required for their conviction. The officers of state, having privately tampered with the judges, presented a series of questions to the court. Where the treason is notorious, if trial be competent after death, why not in absence? if forfeitures in absence can be pronounced by the legislature, why not by the court of justiciary, to whom, whatever is just in parliament, must be equally competent? An obsequious court, in opposition to the established laws of the realm, did not hesitate, on such fallacious deductions, to deliver a solemn opinion, that the justiciary court might proceed, in absence, to the trial and condemnation of such contumacious traitors as refused to appear⁴². Of fifty-five gentlemen arraigned in absence, above twenty were tried and condemned to be executed whenever apprehended. Their estates were conferred on Dalziel and Drummond, or retained by the officers of state to enrich themselves. Conscious that the opinion of the civil, and the proceedings of the criminal tri-

Illegal

⁴¹ Montrose and Wariston, though forfeited in absence, were both heard before sentence was pronounced.

⁴² Mackenzie, ii. 74. Woodrow, i. 286. Arnot's Criminal Trials, 80. Even Mackenzie seems to reprobate the opinions and trials as illegal. p. 75.

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Transportation illegally introduced.

Effects of persecution.

bunals were illegal, they applied to the next parliament to confirm the sentence, and enlarge the powers of the justiciary court. They solicited no indemnity nor authority for an illegal punishment, recently introduced. The prisoners who refused to abjure the covenant, or to subscribe the declaration and oath of supremacy, were condemned to transportation by the king's instructions, and adjudged to servitude in the English plantations. No penalty was annexed to the statute. According to the new maxims of arbitrary government, that to specify the penalty were to limit, not to enlarge the prerogative, transportation was thus introduced by the privy council as an adequate punishment on the refusal of the oaths ⁴³.

The severities which I have described, or shall hereafter have occasion to relate, may excite surprise and regret, that the government had not yet acquired moderation or lenity from past experience, nor discovered that persecution confirms, instead of extirpating, the religious opinions or prejudices of the human mind. The inefficacy of persecution is the discovery of science, but the benefits of toleration are the slow result of the commercial intercourse, and indifference of men to religious disputes. Every church is inspired with the zeal of procuring proselytes, and unless disarmed by the lukewarm faith of the government and the people, an established church is ever desirous to impose its tenets by force on refractory sects. A government

⁴³ Mackenzie's Observations on Stat. i. 461. Woodrow, i. 270.

monopo-

monopolized by an exclusive party, is equally disposed to persecute the adverse faction. The natural operation of power is to vitiate the heart; and it is the tendency even of the best and most refined governments, to relapse into persecution, against which there is no effectual security but popular assemblies equally accessible to every party, and uninfluenced by the government, which they are intended to control. But the royalists were a furious and vindictive party, hostile to the liberties and religion of the nation. On obtaining the exclusive possession of power, they dispensed, in a single breath, with the most valuable privileges which the nation had recovered; the liberties and triennial succession of parliaments, the choice of the articles, the freedom of debate, the independence of the judges; and conspired to enlarge, and exalt the prerogative till the government became radically and constitutionally despotical. The prelates by whom the administration was actuated, were mostly apostates from the presbyterian church; indifferent to religion; ambitious and intent on the acquisition of power, which they deemed insecure and precarious, unless severities were daily multiplied for their preservation. The presbyterians incapacitated, and excluded from trust by declarations and oaths, had no means to abate the rigors, and scarcely enjoyed the protection, of government. The humanity of their sovereign, who appeared insensible to their sufferings and complaints, was a feeble resource. His occasional interposition was partial, tardy, and seldom effectual.

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On the
constitution.

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A mild
administra-
tion.

tual. His choice had invariably been fixed on the worst ministers, as the most devoted to his power; and the presbyterians had reason to lament that their former recall, and their credulous reliance on the word of the king, had reduced the nation under a foreign yoke that terminated in their present oppression and servitude.

The mismanagement of the Dutch war was productive, however, of an unexpected change in the administration of Scotland. The violence of the two archbishops had been artfully fomented or indulged by Lauderdale, till it reached a crisis destructive to themselves. Their influence had established a party in the council superior to his friends, and in order to perpetuate their authority, and enrich the commanders of whom their adherents consisted, they proposed to continue the army, and to preserve a military government in the western shires. Their power appeared to be ripe for dissolution. Towards the conclusion of an unfortunate and disgraceful war, the king was compelled to mitigate everywhere the rigors of government, and disposed to sacrifice even his most faithful servants to the public resentment. The opportunity was seized by the earls of Tweeddale and Kincardine, to represent the wretched state to which the country was reduced. The chief support of the prelates was lost by the fall of Clarendon, whose exile deserves to be recorded, like the fetters of Columbus, as a signal memorial of the ingratitude of courts. The first symptom of their decline and disgrace, was an order for Sharp to retire to

to his diocese from public affairs. Sir Robert Murray, whom the royal society should revere as its father, was appointed justice clerk, and the people were pleased and gratified, when a judicial office so important and dangerous, was conferred on the most upright, and accomplished character which the nation produced. The appearance of a Dutch fleet in the Forth, while the commissioner was absent in the North, and the army uselessly employed in the West, afforded a decent pretext for the removal of Rothes. After exciting a false alarm, the fleet departed to rejoin, and assist De Ruyter in burning the shipping in the river Thames. The absence of Rothes and the army, at a time when the coasts were insulted and the country endangered, was aggravated by Lauderdale to accelerate his removal; and he was deprived of his numerous offices, the treasury, the command of the army, and the presidency of the council; but retained the office of chancellor which was confirmed for life. A milder administration succeeded. The nation again respired under Tweeddale, Kincardine, and Sir Robert Murray, and enjoyed for a time, if not the blessings of liberty, the benefits at least of a humane and impartial government⁴⁴.

When the army was withdrawn from the West, and disbanded on a peace, some security was required on the removal of military force. The prelates who demanded that the declaration should still be exacted, expected a fruitful

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Bonds of
peace.

⁴⁴ Kirkton, MS. 68. Burnet, i. 350—5. Woodrow, i. 271.

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1668.

source of persecution from the refusal of the presbyterians to abjure the covenant. The ministry recommended a milder expedient, that suspected persons should enter into bonds, instead of religious tests, for the preservation of public peace. The interposition of a private contract to secure the public tranquillity, appears to derogate from the dignity of government; but the bonds of peace were requisite to appease the jealous apprehensions of the court; and as they were accompanied by an ample indemnity, were generally preferred to religious tests, except by a few who scrupled to profess obedience to iniquitous laws⁴⁵.

Attempt on
Sharp's
life.

July 11.

The apostasy of Sharp had excited such deep resentment, his rigors had inspired such implacable revenge, that it is not surprising if, among a persecuted sect, and a fanatical party, some attempted to perpetrate a deed of which few disapproved. While sitting in his coach by day, in the public streets, a pistol was discharged at his person, through Honyman, the bishop of Orkney's cloak, while ascending the carriage, but the bishop's arm intercepted the balls. Such was the hatred of the archbishop, that the assassin was permitted to cross the street and escape through a lane. On disengaging himself from his disguise, he returned to the crowd, where he was least apt to be suspected or found; and, notwithstanding the most vigilant search, remained undiscovered, till recognized six years after by Sharp himself. The outcry against

⁴⁵ Kirkton, MS. 287. Burnet, i. 376.

the covenanters was renewed, and Honyman, whose arm was shattered by the bullets, languished a few years and died of the wound. For a time, the primate affected a transient lenity, but as such an atrocious deed must exasperate the mind, no real moderation was inspired by his escape ⁴⁶.

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The humane design to relieve the presbyterians, was retarded, not discouraged by the attempt on Sharp. The scandalous lives, and the ignorance of the western clergy were notorious, and the people were agitated and inflamed by a hot, itinerant race of youthful preachers, whose fiery polemics required a present remedy, more efficacious than persecution could afford. An accommodation with the presbyterians was attempted by Leighton, while the situation of the church might admit of an easy comprehension of sects. The prelates, intent on the acquisition of power, had introduced no material innovation in its worship or rites. Its worship was still extemporary, or exchanged in some congregations for a portion of the liturgy; the sacramental rites were administered without kneeling, or the sign of the cross; and as the surplice, the altar, and the offensive ceremonies of the preceding reign were not generally revived, an uniform mode of worship was not difficult to be restored ⁴⁷. The chief obstacle, and almost the only source of defection, was the government of the church, which,

Compre-
hension of
sects at-
tempted.

⁴⁶ Burnet, i. 471. Kirkton, MS. 71.

⁴⁷ Sir George Mackenzie's Works, ii. 343. Skinner's Hist. ii. 467.

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1669.

according to Leighton's scheme of comprehension, was to be restored to its former situation in the reign of James. The bishops were to relinquish their negative, nor to ordain without the concurrence of the presbytery, and their authority was to be reduced to little more than a right to preside in ecclesiastical courts. The presbyterian clergy were to be replaced and relieved from canonical oaths; and permitted, on their ordination or return to their presbyteries, to exonerate their conscience by a protestation against the precedence of the bishops, to which they submitted only for the sake of peace. Leighton, whose proposals were moderate, yet artful to an extreme, expected that the protestations would be soon forgotten, and represented to his own order; that their authority would easily be recovered, without the danger of a schism, when the present generation had sunk into the grave. But the prelates were not more unwilling to unlock the gates, than the presbyterians to enter the pale of the established church. They were apprehensive of the same consequences which Leighton anticipated, that if the people were once accustomed to the name of prelates, presbytery would expire with the present generation, and they preferred a separate, precarious existence, as a persecuted sect, to a secure and honourable, but oblivious asylum, during the remainder of their lives. The people were industriously impressed with their fears; *touch not, taste not, handle not*, was their favourable text against religious communion with an hostile sect. The accommodation was protracted
by

by fruitless conferences, in which their scrupulous obstinacy was generally blamed; but when their church was deprived so lately of a legal establishment, it is not surprising that in the true spirit of sectaries, they declined a comprehension which must have soon extinguished their religion and their name⁴⁸.

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At the same time a partial indulgence was proposed by Tweedale, a more efficacious remedy, if extensively adopted, or even steadily pursued. A part of the ejected clergy were permitted to officiate in vacant churches, and a small salary was promised to others who remained unprovided. The wages of silence were rejected, or rather never paid: but the indulgence was at first so acceptable, that at different times above forty ministers were restored to their churches: their labours to reclaim from conventicles, were at first so successful, that the people endeavoured, in other parishes, to purchase the resignation of the episcopal incumbents. But the exiled and ejected clergy, inveighed at an indulgence from which they were excluded themselves. In a few years, their publications and sermons against an Erastian dependence on the civil magistrate, estranged and separated the people from the indulged. When the latter ceased to preach to the times, the salt of their doctrine lost its relish, and it was visible to the people that the divine grace with which they were endued in conventicles, had departed on their submission to the in-

Indulgences

⁴⁸ Burnet, i. 362. 400. 402—33. Kirkton, MS. 42. Woodrow, i. 334, Appendix, 132.

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junctions of the civil power. The king's curates, as they were contumeliously denominated, were compared to dumb dogs, unable or afraid to bark. The controversy continued burning for many years. The people returned to their conventicles with an increase of appetite, the temporising clergy, to those popular doctrines which they were prohibited to preach. But the severity of government was soon awakened by the rapid growth and increase of conventicles, for which the indulgence was supposed to leave no pretext⁴⁹.

Merits of
administration.

While the present humane administration subsisted, the most assiduous application was given to public affairs. Intemperance and other vices of the age were discountenanced; justice was impartially administered; the excesses of Turner and his officers were strictly investigated; claims on government were regularly discharged, and an annual surplus of the revenue was appropriated to purchase magazines of arms, and promote useful schemes of manufacture and trade. Tweeddale and Murray were united by a sincere friendship, but unhappily for the country, the duration of their authority depended on Lauderdale's support, whose character, so various at different periods, had undergone a sudden and surprising change. On his return to the world, the studious devotion of his early years was discarded for the profligate manners of the times. But his influence hitherto had been exerted patriotically, for the benefit of his

⁴⁹ Id. 303—51. Burnet, i. 413.

country,

country, till he renewed an amorous connection with the countess of Dyfart, whom he married afterwards on the death of his wife. A woman of beauty, wit, and spirit, full of intrigue, whose blandishments Cromwell was unable to resist, whose literary accomplishments were beyond her sex, acquired an absolute dominion over his mind. She was vain and prodigal in her expences; venal rapacious, or rather ravenous for money; violent in her friendships, but more implacable still in her resentments; of a restless ambition; ardent, insatiable, and deterred by no principle nor compunction from the attainment of her ends. Her vices and passions, to which Lauderdale became subservient, dishonoured his character and degraded his capacity in the public estimation. She inspired his mind with her own resentments, incited him to quarrel successively with his best friends; and having persuaded him that Murray, whom her father had formerly destined for her husband, assumed the sole merit of administration, the jealous Lauderdale, whose pride was alarmed at her suggestions, determined to superintend the government of Scotland himself⁵⁰.

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Lauderdale's interference.

A feeble attempt of Tweeddale's to accomplish an union of the two kingdoms, was encouraged by Lauderdale, that he might hold a parliament in person as high commissioner. The king was empowered to appoint commissioners for a treaty of union. Instructed, however, by the insignificant

A parliament.
Oct. 19.
Union attempted.

⁵⁰ Burnet, i. 360. Kirkton, 80.

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1669.

Two dangerous
acts procured by
Lauderdale.

share which their country acquired in the government during the usurpation, they refused, on a subsequent treaty, to accede to an union, unless the Scottish estates were preserved entire, and instead of a proportional representation, the two parliaments were incorporated into one¹. But an union was utterly inconsistent with Lauderdale's designs. From an ostentatious display of his influence and services in the Scottish parliament, he expected to acquire a share in the administration of England, and succeeded at length on obtaining admission into the celebrated Cabal. An act to explain and assert the prerogative was first procured. To the nobility he represented that the insolence of the prelates would be more effectually restrained; to the presbyterians, that a change would be sooner accomplished, if religion were left entirely to the king's disposal. The external government and regulation of the church was declared an inherent right of the crown, and whatever his majesty should enact, respecting all ecclesiastical matters, meetings, and persons, when recorded and published by the privy council, acquired the same force and operation as laws. The king's religion was not then suspected; but when his brother's attachment to popery transpired, Lauderdale's intentions were no longer doubtful, to recommend himself to the duke, by providing a previous, discretionary power to introduce whatever religion he chose into

¹ Kirkton, 80. Mackenzie, ii. 359. De Foe's Hist. Union, pp. 54. 725.

the

the church. The next act was to confirm the national militia, which, from the offer of an army by the late parliament, had been embodied, armed, and regularly disciplined. An established militia of twenty-two thousand men was ordained to march wherever the privy council of Scotland should appoint, and the honour or safety of the king might require. In procuring acts so dangerous to the religion and liberties of either kingdom, Lauderdale exulted in his services to the crown. The supremacy was more firmly established than even in England, and the church was prepared to receive whatever religion the king should enjoin. An army, a treasury, magazines of arms, were provided in Scotland to support his authority, and the army was ready to march into England, on a secret intimation to the privy council, whose proceedings might be disavowed at court, if they failed of success²².

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1669.

The second session of parliament is distinguished by severe and sanguinary acts against conventicles, which the military had of late been employed to disperse. The people resorted to sermon in the open fields, which they preferred to houses for escape or defence. A large conventicle in Fife, was attended by gentlemen in their ordinary arms, and the reproaches of the court, or of the English prelates, awakened Lauderdale to all the rage of persecution. House conventicles were repressed by the former laws against separation; and hus-

1670
Parliament.
July 28.

Severe laws
against
conven-
ticles.

²² Parl. 1669, ch. 1, 2. Burnet, i. 218. Woodrow, i. 310.

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1679.

bands, were rendered responsible for their wives, fathers for their children, and magistrates for the towns wherein they were held. Field conventicles were more severely restrained. The preachers were subjected to confiscation and death; their hearers to double fines and the penalties of sedition. A reward of five hundred Scottish merks was offered for their persons, or an indemnity for their slaughter; and house conventicles were estimated and punished as field conventicles, if crowded without, at the windows or doors. Whoever refused to depose against delinquents, or to furnish information on oath against such as held or frequented conventicles, were punishable by imprisonment, arbitrary fines, transportation to the plantations; and the privy council was enjoined to enforce the utmost rigor of the act, against all who declined to turn public informers against their relations and friends. It is observable that the king himself disapproved of the first as a sanguinary statute, but his humanity never interposed to prevent its renewal in the subsequent parliament, much less to procure its repeal. A severe and iniquitous law was productive, however, of unforeseen mischiefs. Instead of being deterred by its rigors, the people repaired to conventicles with arms for their defence; and as field conventicles became more numerous, armed conventicles began to prevail³³.

³³ Parl. 1679, ch. 2, 5, 7. Woodrow, i. 323. Burnet, i. 429,

When

1671.
Lauder-
dale's ad-
ministra-
tion.Tyranny
and info-
lence.
1672.
June.

When three-fourths of the nation are represented as sectaries from the national worship, the perversion of terms may excite a smile of contempt ; but when the majority of a people are proscribed and persecuted for religious opinions, we must lament the fatal intermixture of the human passions, which is more frequent in government, and esteemed more venial than in the administration of justice, but is more widely destructive of the human race. From the corrupt and furious passions of Lauderdale, his administration relapsed into the same tyranny from which he had relieved the nation ; with this difference, that in proportion as it was prolonged, it became daily worse. His insolence, on his return to Scotland, with the title of duke, provoked universal disgust. The parliament was adjourned till the countess of Dyfart, whom he had married, was conducted round the country, where they were attended and received in their progress with regal pomp and respect. Their profusion was immense ; and in the hands of his rapacious duchess, every thing became venal in Scotland. As his humour or interest predominated, the presbyterians were alternately persecuted and their clergy indulged ; but persecution, instead of being committed to the prelates, was reserved as a source of emolument for himself and his friends¹⁴. Some idea may be formed of his violence and rapacity, of which it is impossible to enumerate the particulars, from a lively sketch of the grievances and situation of the country under his administration.

¹⁴ Burnet, ii. 61.

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1672.
Situation
and griev-
ances of
the nation.
Nobility.

Courts of
justice.

The nobility, who exceeded an hundred, were immerfed in poverty and debt, and fupported moftly by penfions from the crown. From their numbers they acquired the chief fway and control in parliament; but their lofty titles and decayed fortunes rendered them equally obfequious to the favourite and oppreffive to the nation. They had no access to the throne, except through the minifter who engrossed the absolute difpofal of offices, and from his refidence at court they funk with the country into an absolute fubmiffion to his meanest dependants, his menials and friends⁵⁵. The privy council and the courts of juftice were filled with his creatures, but the former enjoyed no fhare in the government, except the merit of an implicit execution of his commands. The latter confifted of ignorant or unprincipled judges, merchants, country gentlemen, collectors of revenue; and under the management of lord Hatton, his brother, and Dalrymple the president, it is asserted that favour, bribery, partial and corrupt judgments prevailed beyond any former period⁵⁶. An alteration was introduced by parliament into the jufticiary court, to which five lords of feflion were conjoined, instead of the deputies whom the juftice

⁵⁵ Miscellanea Aulica, 190. Woodrow's Hist. i. App. 147. and Collections, MS. vol. xxvii. 8vo. Adv. Library.

⁵⁶ Id. The judges, &c. by repeated and recent ftatutes, had been prohibited to grant protections from arrefments, under the penalty of becoming responsible for the debt. Protections, however, became fo frequent, that they were openly purchafed for five pounds a-piece. Mackenzie's Observ. i. 308. Woodrow, i. App. 143.

general,

general, or the assessors whom the privy council were accustomed to appoint. But the expectations of parliament were not entirely fulfilled, as the criminal court was converted into a chamber of the court of session, infected with the same abuses, and equally devoted to the ministers of the crown.

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1672.

The revenues of Scotland were engrossed and wasted by Lauderdale and his friends. The parliament was prolonged above four years, that he might enjoy the emoluments and rank of commissioner; and his revenues during his abode in Scotland, exceeded those of its ancient kings. His salary was sixteen thousand pounds sterling; the donatives which he obtained, twenty-six thousand; but the annual revenues of the crown, the surplus revenue accumulated by Murray, and an assessment of seventy-two thousand pounds, were insufficient to support his profusion, and disappeared in his hands. A gift of the feudal incidents of ward and marriage, was conferred on the earl of Kincardine; another of the incidents due before the restoration was engrossed by Lauderdale; and exacted in the most oppressive manner from the vassals of the crown. But the most lucrative and oppressive sources of extortion were the penalties and compositions for attending conventicles, of which it is impossible to estimate the amount. Nineteen hundred pounds sterling were exacted by Athol, the justice general, for his own behoof in a single week. Two gentlemen, of whom the one was a youth from school, and the other's wife had attended a field meeting, compounded for fifteen hundred pounds. Thirty thousand

Abuses of
revenue.

Extortions.

B O O K
VII.

1672.

thousand pounds were imposed on ten gentlemen; nor these the most considerable in the shire of Renfrew. Injustice was aggravated by the insolence of Lauderdale, whose unfeeling jests insulted such as compounded for their fines. The penalties of nonconformity within particular districts were farmed out, or assigned to his dependents; and the estates of those who withdrew from his rage and insolence, were plundered and wasted by gifts of escheat³⁷.

Monopolies.

The trade of the kingdom was almost equally oppressed. In Middleton's parliament, the regulation of duties on foreign trade was transferred to the crown; but an act intended to establish a balance of trade with England, was productive, in Lauderdale's hands, of the most pernicious monopolies for the benefit of his friends. A duty, equivalent to a prohibition, was imposed on foreign salt; the pre-emption of home-made salt was conferred on lord Kincardine; and a necessary article was enhanced above five times its original price. A large impost was laid on tobacco; the importation of brandy was prohibited; and an odious monopoly was created by the sale of licences to import those articles of general consumption. Among other grievances unnecessary to enumerate, the adulteration of the coin was universally felt. The currency of foreign money was fixed beneath its

³⁷ Woodrow's App. 346—62. Scotland's grievances, under the Duke of Lauderdale. Crawford's Hist. MS. ii. 113. Burnet, ii. 65.

intrinsic

intrinsic value, that it might be brought to the mint, where lord Hatton presided. The silver coinage issued in return was adulterated and reduced in weight, and the country was filled with a species of light and spurious copper^{ss}.

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1672.

From these grievances, the designs of Lauderdale and the court, to render the one kingdom instrumental to the servitude of the other, must appear not less criminal than desperate in the extreme. While the minister vainly expected to retain all Scotland in dependence on himself, while the king was persuaded that an army devoted to his service, was prepared to support his most arbitrary designs, an injured and insulted people was disposed, on the least disorder in England, to break into open rebellion as soon as the troops were removed. When the declaration of indulgence, which had been exemplified in Scotland, was recalled by Charles, the Cabal dissolved in its own weakness and decay. Shaftesbury was preserved by an opportune defection, or rather by his uniform adherence to the popular party; Lauderdale, whom the house of commons declared a grievance, sought an undisturbed retreat from the tempest in Scotland. The opposition encountered there, was the more severe as it was unexpected and justly incurred. The nobility were provoked at his arrogance; the commons at his oppressions; but the mutinous disposition of parliament was not discovered nor suspected till it met. The king's letter

1673.
Opposition
in parliament.

Nov. 22.

^{ss} Woodrow, i. App. 141. Scotland's Grievances.

BOOK

VII.

1673

was read and enforced by the commissioner, recommending more vigorous means of persecution, and requesting additional aids for the Dutch war. Instead of the usual responses of a submissive parliament, the duke of Hamilton, a younger son of the house of Douglas, who had married the heiress, and obtained, by the courtesy of Scotland, the titles of Hamilton, demanded that the situation of the nation should be first examined, and its grievances redressed. The grievances of the nation were re-echoed by twenty members. They arose and complained successively of the monopolies of brandy, salt, tobacco, the administration of justice, the adulteration of the coin ; but religious persecution, the worst of grievances, was an interdicted subject of which they durst not complain. The commissioner, astonished at their opposition, endeavoured, by his overbearing menaces, to interrupt their debates. " Is this a free parliament or not ? " was the indignant reply, and no expedient remained but to adjourn for a week. At the next meeting, in order to appease their indignation, the monopolies were repealed. But the relief was unsatisfactory, unless the author and instruments of oppression were removed and punished ; and they who considered Lauderdale's inordinate power and accumulation of offices as the greatest evil, persisted in their resolution to represent the national grievances in their address to the king. The commissioner's last resource was to adjourn the parliament for two months ; and in the interval, Tweeddale, Hamilton, and the leaders of opposition were invited

vised to court. They were received and dismissed with full assurances that the grievances should be left to parliament; and hastened down amidst such heavy snows and intense or continued frosts, that a third of the sheep and cattle were starved to death. On their arrival, the parliament, which was permitted to meet, was adjourned within half an hour, and then dissolved by a letter from the king⁵⁹.

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1673.

The disappointment excited such violent discontent, that some undertook to assassinate Lauderdale and his whole party; but these desperate counsels were overruled by Hamilton, who was again invited to court with his friends. They requested to be heard by their sovereign, but were required to present their complaints in writing. The most cautious complaints which it was possible to frame, would be converted into leasing-making, especially as the archbishop of Glasgow had been lately entangled in the same snare. Their grievances were communicated to Charles by an anonymous letter, but all hopes of redress or relief were disappointed, as they durst not confide in his assurance, that no paper which they subscribed would be employed for their destruction. Their grievances proclaimed in pamphlets, renewed the demands of the English commons for the removal of Lauderdale. If not admitted by Charles to the secret of the first clandestine treaty with France, to restore the catho-

Redress of
grievances
evaded by
Charles.

1674.

⁵⁹ Scotland's Grievances. Kirkton, 88. Woodrow, i. App. 98. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, 241. Burnet, i. 108. Law's Diary, MS. Adv. Library.

B O O K
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1674.

lic religion in England, he entered with zeal into the second subsidiary alliance, to establish an absolute government by the introduction of French troops, with whom the army procured from the Scottish parliament was intended to co-operate. The acts ordaining the army to march wherever the Scottish council should appoint, and the honour or safety of the king might require, were examined by the commons, when the evidence of the celebrated Gilbert Burnet revealed his design, if the king had continued firm, to summon the Scottish army into England to support the Cabal: But the king, who had dismissed in Clarendon the monitor of his early youth, and the friend of his adversity, considered truly that the minister devoted to the acquisition of power was devoted to the crown. Lauderdale, confirmed in his offices, became more absolute than ever; his opponents were all displaced from the council but Hamilton; and if at times he condescended to court the presbyterians, his administration displays the most signal examples of the corrupt and wanton abuse of power⁶⁰.

Faculty of
advocates
expelled
from town.

A private litigation between the earls of Dunfermline and Callender, to divest the latter of half his fortune, was espoused by Lauderdale, who determined, before his departure for court, to influence the decision of the bench by his voice and presence as an extraordinary judge⁶¹. The question was accelerated, and appointed to be heard

⁶⁰ Crawford's Hist. MS. ii. 125. Woodrow, i. 364—79. Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs.

⁶¹ Crawford's MS. Hist. ii. 125.

by the president, in defiance of a recent statute, that no cause should be unduly or prematurely called⁶². An appeal to parliament, which was then uncommon, yet not without precedent, was immediately lodged. The novelty of the attempt was resented; and as the integrity of the court had already been impeached, and its decisions quoted in the late parliament as partial or unjust, it became the more necessary, in the opinion of the judges, to repress the insolence of the bar. The appellant's counsel were required to swear to the advice they had given, and Lockhart and Cunningham, the most eminent of their profession, were expelled for their refusal of an arbitrary oath⁶³. Fifty advocates, resenting the indignity done to their order, followed them from the bar, and at the instigation of Lauderdale, were banished twelve miles from the capital, till they renounced the right of appeals to parliament. The necessity of appeals was universally felt and acknowledged in secret. But the bar was divided like the church into conformists and non-conformists; the former a servile train that adhered to the court, the latter a large majority who retired with Cunningham to Linlithgow, and with Lockhart to Haddington. When the term prescribed for their submission had elapsed, they were permitted to

⁶² See NOTE II.

⁶³ Nisbet of Dirleton demanded in vain from the president, by what law the sentence was pronounced. He was told by Hatton, that if they had the king's letter they required no law. Crawford, MS.

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return, after a year's exile, on an evasive acknowledgment that judicial proceedings were not suspended by appeals, which they durst not however disown, without impugning the supreme authority of the estates. As their independence was unexampled perhaps in their profession, their submission, though accelerated by the defection of some, was a real triumph over injustice and oppression; and the right of appeal was established at the revolution, as a salutary control on the court of session⁶⁴.

Acts of
oppression.

To exclude the refractory advocates from seats, the convention of royal boroughs, an assembly annually held for the consideration of trade, was admonished by Charles to revive an obsolete regulation against the return of commissioners, not inhabitants of the boroughs, to serve in parliament. The answer of the convention, asserting the unrestrained rights of election, was condemned as seditious, and its members were imprisoned, displaced, and fined. The annual election of magistrates was prohibited at Edinburgh. Twelve of its chief magistrates were declared incapable of public trust, as not sufficiently submissive to Ramsay their provost, a bankrupt trader, whom Lauderdale created a lord of Session, in return for seventeen thousand pounds extorted as gifts from the town. Ten gentlemen and two peers, the opponents of Lauderdale, were dispossessed of their houses, which were converted into garrisons for

⁶⁴ Crawford, MS. Kirkton. Ralph, i. 268.

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the suppression of conventicles, nor restored till purposely defaced by the soldiers; and sir Patrick Hume, who ventured to implore the protection of the laws, was imprisoned and disqualified from public trust. Lord Cardross, whose house was invaded by night, his lady insulted, and his chaplain illegally seized by the military, was imprisoned and fined with his lady in a thousand pounds, because the neighbouring peasants had rescued his chaplain. On the surmise of some correspondence of the disaffected with Holland, Drummond the general, a noted royalist, was suspected as an officer of distinguished merit, and confined for a twelve month in Dumbarton castle⁶⁵. Such acts of oppression past in silence, as a part of Lauderdale's ordinary administration; but the punishment of Baillie of Jerviswood, excited more open discontent. Carstairs, a spy employed by Sharp to frequent and discover conventicles, had inveigled Kirkton, a clergyman to his lodgings, and endeavoured under the pretext of a warrant from the privy council, to extort money for his release. When his situation was discovered, Baillie, his brother-in-law, burst open the doors, and delivered him by force. A warrant, however, for his arrest, antedated by Sharp, was subscribed by nine counsellors, and delivered to Carstairs; and on this judicial forgery, Baillie was convicted of a state offence, amerced in five hundred pounds, and

⁶⁵ Crawford's Hist. MS. ii. 126. Somers' Tracts, vii. 195. Woodrow, i. 384—93, 4—7. 443. App. 149. Burlet, ii. 111—18—56.

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1676,

A feverer
persecu-
tion.

imprisoned for a year. On the representation of lord Hatton, the duke of Hamilton and the earls of Morton, Dumfries, Kincardine, lords Cochran, and Primrose, who alone opposed this iniquitous sentence, were removed from the council ⁶⁶.

During the late opposition to Lauderdale, Argyle and Dalrymple, to regain the popular support of the presbyterians, were received into favour, and the clergy, as an earnest of future indulgence, were permitted to return, and even to preach in the capital ⁶⁷. Such lenient treatment, had it been invariably observed, would have soon reconciled the people to government, and the sect itself might have disappeared under silent contempt. But we must observe, that the imperious disposition of Lauderdale was stimulated by the clamorous rage of the prelates on the one hand, whose outcries were incessant that the church was in danger, and on the other, by the jealous and incurable apprehensions of the sovereign, that the presbyterians were a disaffected party ever ready to revolt. It was from these causes, that when all opposition to Lauderdale was surmounted, a more severe and unremitted persecution was kindled; productive of silence, but not of tranquillity or submission to the state. Field and armed conventicles continued to multiply, in proportion as the severities of government increased. As the offenders declined to appear in council, and confess their guilt, *letters of intercommuning* were revived and published; an

Letters of
intercom-
muning.

⁶⁶ Id. Kirkton, MS. 93.

⁶⁷ Burnet, ii. 108. Crawford, MS.

obsolete

obsolete writ by which the absent were outlawed, and whosoever intercommuned with them then, whether to fulfil the duties of relatives, or to administer the offices of humanity, were liable to the same punishment as if equally involved in the same offence. In a single writ, above ninety clergymen, gentlemen, and even ladies of distinction, were interdicted from the common intercourse of social life; and as all who received or supplied them with sustenance, intelligence, or relief, conversed or held communication with them, were equally criminal, their presence was rendered contagious, and their guilt was multiplied like a pestilential disease. At a moderate computation, seventeen thousand persons of either sex, and of every description and rank in life, were already harassed and oppressed in the west, for attendance on conventicles, or their absence from church. Numbers outlawed, or terrified at such indefinite proscriptions, deserted their abodes, and acquired the fierce and savage habits of a vagrant life⁶⁸. Conventicles, in consequence of their dispersion, became more widely diffused

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1676.

1677.

⁶⁸ Woodrow, i. 392. 416—18. App. 1666. Burnet, ii. 156—83. Letters of intercommuning, similar to the *Aqua et ignis interdictio* of the Roman law, concluded thus: "We command and charge all our lieges and subjects, that none presume to refect, (receive,) supply, or intercommune with any of the foresaid our rebels, nor furnish them with meat, drink, house, harbour, or victuals; nor any other thing useful or comfortable to them; nor have intelligence with them by word, writing, message, or otherwise, under the pain of being reputed and esteemed art and part with them in the crime foresaid, and to be pursued therefore with all rigour."

through the southern counties, from the borders of England to Perth and Lennox, beyond the friths; and were held in morasses, woods, or on the summits of mountains, to prevent surprise. From the vicinity and frequent assaults of the garrisons, the concourse of people became more numerous, and better armed and mounted for mutual defence. The conventicles assumed a more formidable appearance, and were protected by regular patrols and guards of horse, till the people dispersed. The ministers, who rejoiced in the multitude of their audience, the people delighted with the romantic and meritorious dangers of the sabbath, preferred the fields to the shelter of houses or the sanctity of churches; and while they braved or eluded, or suffered the united rage of the military and the laws, imagined that the gospel was far more efficacious and successful, when preached in the wilderness. During six years, their contests with the military were frequent, often bloody, but not always successful. A price was fixed on the field preachers, whom the soldiers daily pursued *like a partridge on the hills*. The Bass, a steep rock in the mouth of the Forth, was converted into a fortress or state prison, where they pined in misery and want for years, neglected and forgotten. The people intercepted on their return from conventicles, were delivered up as recruits for the service of France⁶⁹. In this desperate situation of

⁶⁹ Burnet, ii. 167. Kirkton: Ralph, i. 315. Woodrow, i. 427-32-41.

the country, a severe example was chosen to intimidate, or rather to exasperate the people by a perfidious violation of honour, justice, and the public faith.

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Archbishop Sharp had observed a person who eyed him attentively, and imagined that he beheld the features of the assassin who had attempted his life. When arrested, he proved to be Mitchel, a fanatical preacher; a loaded pistol was found in his custody to confirm the suspicion; but no proof appeared of his actual guilt. To discover his confederates, and the extent of the danger, a solemn promise was made by Sharp to procure a pardon if he would confess the fact. On the most solemn assurance of life, confirmed by the chancellor, commissioner, and privy council, he acknowledged the attempt to assassinate the primate; but instead of numerous associates, or a regular conspiracy, none but a single person then dead, was privy to the design. Disappointed and mortified at such a slight discovery, the perfidious council proceeded to determine what punishment less than death might be inflicted on the crime. The justiciary court was instructed secretly to pronounce a sentence for the amputation of his hand; but when produced to renew his confession at the bar, the whisper of a judge in passing, admonished him to acknowledge nothing, unless his limbs as well as his life were secured. The torture was next applied under a false pretext, to extort a confession of his concern in the insurrection of Pentland; and after enduring the question till he fainted under the strokes of

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January.
Mitchel's
trial,

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the executioner, he remained four years in fetters, forgotten in the solitary confinement of the Bais⁷⁰. His trial, on the return of Lauderdale, was now resumed at the instigation of Sharp. Nisbet, the king's advocate, was displaced for Mackenzie, who, as Mitchel's counsel in the former trial, could not be ignorant of the assurance of his life, yet preferred an indictment against him for a capital crime. Primrose, from the lucrative office of clerk register, removed to be justice general⁷¹, transmitted privately to his advocates a copy of the act of council in which the assurance was contained. His former extrajudicial confession, the only evidence of his attempt to assassinate a prelate and a privy counsellor, was attested by Sharp the primate, Rothes the chancellor, Lauderdale high commissioner, and Hatton a lord of the treasury and session, who did not scruple, in their zeal to convict the prisoner, to declare on oath that no assurance whatever had been given for the preservation of his life. The copy of the act of council was produced. The books of council, deposited in the adjoining chamber, were demanded

⁷⁰ Woodrow, i. 375. 511. Burnet, ii. 176. At first it was proposed in council to cut off both his hands, but this was prevented, not from humanity, but by a jest of Rothes, too gross to be transcribed. Id.

⁷¹ Nisbet was removed, because he was rich, and refused a sum of money to the duchess of Lauderdale; Primrose, because the clerk register's was a lucrative place. It was given nominally to another, but the profits were seized by the rapacious duchess, and Primrose was made justice general to stop his mouth. Kirkton, MS. 96, 7.

as evidence for the prisoner, since his extrajudicial confession before the same judicature was admitted as proof. But the duke of Lauderdale, as a witness not entitled to speak, interrupted the court in a strain of imperious authority, declared that the books of council contained the secrets of the king, which no court should be permitted to examine; and concluding that the four counsellors came not there to be accused of perjury, it was immediately understood that they were all forsworn. The court, intimidated perhaps by his threats, determined by an obsequious majority that it was too late to apply for production of the record, of which an authenticated copy had been refused by the clerk. But it is observable, as a melancholy instance of the depravity or servility of the bench, that the justice general, who furnished a surreptitious copy, and had previously admonished Lauderdale of the existence of the act, possessed neither the virtue nor the fortitude to attest the fact, as a witness or a judge, but pronounced the condemnation of a man to death, whom his evidence should have preserved ⁷².

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Before the jury had returned a verdict, the four lords, as soon as the court adjourned, examined the books of council where the evidence of their perjury was recorded, and is still preserved to their eternal reproach. Their conduct sufficiently evinces the persuasion under which they acted, that there was no record of their assurance to Mitchel; and they still

And execution.
Jan. 18.

⁷² State Trials, ii. 627.

affected

affected to believe, that nothing more was intended than a promise to intercede with the king for his life. The blame was transferred from the chancellor who subscribed, to the clerk who inserted the assurance in their minutes ; the latter discovered that the act of council was framed by Nisbet, from whom they proposed to levy a severe fine ; but he procured nine privy counsellors who offered to swear, lord Hatton's letters were produced to prove, that a full assurance of life had been approved and confirmed by the privy council, when engrossed in its books. Lauderdale was at length inclined to grant a respite till the king was consulted, but the primate was inexorable. He urged that the example was absolutely necessary to preserve his life from assassins, to which Lauderdale assented with a profane and inhuman jest⁷³. Doubtless the fanaticism of Mitchel was of the most dangerous and atrocious nature but his guilt is lost in the complicated perfidy, cruelty, perjury and revenge which accomplished his death. It was the ardent desire of ministers to involve the whole body of presbyterians in his guilt ; but in the prosecution of this object they incurred the just imputation of more detestable crimes. Horror and universal execration were excited by the treachery and unexampled perjuries of the first ministers in the church and state ; and the precautions employed by Sharp for his safety and revenge, contributed two years afterwards to his disastrous fate.

⁷³ "Nay, then, let him glorify God in the Grass-market," the place of execution. Burnet, ii. 80. Woodrow, i. 375. 514.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK VIII.

Introduction of the Highlanders, and their severities in the West.—Murder of Sharp.—Insurrection of Bothwell Bridge suppressed by Monmouth.—Duke of York's administration.—Act of succession, and the test.—Argyle's trial and escape.—Ryehouse plot.—Prostitution of Justice, Executions, Extortions, Murders in the fields.—Death and character of Charles II.

ON the marriage of the prince of Orange with the princess Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York, an alliance was hastily concluded with Holland, in consequence of a transient disgust at the French court. A large army was ordained to be raised, and the king, if supported by the English parliament, was apparently determined to consult

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1678.
Pretext for
a standing
army

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consult for once the inclination of the people, and the interest of the rest of Europe, by a war with France. But the popular party were alarmed at an army of twenty thousand men, suddenly raised within six weeks, and apprehended that the military force with which they had entrusted the court, was intended not to prosecute the war abroad, but to subvert their religion and liberties at home. From late discoveries, it appears indisputable that their apprehensions were just. The duke of York, who considered his religion as otherwise lost, had resumed the design of procuring a large army, which he expected to command in person, and by reducing the kingdom to subjection, proposed to render his brother absolute, and secure his own precarious succession to the throne'. The execution of this desperate design was prevented by the combination of the popular leaders with the court of France; and the army, which was equally formidable to both, was dissolved by a secret treaty, or money transaction, between the latter and Charles.

Sought in
Scotland.

From the coincidence of events, there is every reason to believe, that the pretext which the

' Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 165—83—9. oct. edit. "The duke of York, says Barillon, believes himself lost as to his religion, if the present opportunity does not serve to bring England into subjection; it is a very bold enterprise, and the success very doubtful. The king still wavers upon carrying things to extremity; his humour is very repugnant to the design of changing the government. He is, nevertheless, drawn along by the duke of York and the high treasurer." Id. 194.

league

league with Holland afforded, to procure an army, had been fought in the measures purposely employed in Scotland, to excite a revolt². Throughout the western counties, the landlords were required to enter into bonds, under the same penalties which the delinquents incurred, that neither their families, domestics, tenants, nor *their* servants, or others residing on their property, should withdraw from public worship, adhere to conventicles, or succour field preachers and persons intercommuned. Their wives and children had frequented conventicles, from which they had abstained themselves; but they declined the bonds as illegal, and refused to become responsible for their tenants or servants, whom it was impossible to restrain. At the same time, they acknowledged the increase of conventicles to a scandalous excess, and offered to assist and protect the officers of justice in the execution of the laws. As the people dispersed, however, when the sermon was finished, without disturbance to the public peace,

² Woodrow's information coincides with Barillon's; that he was informed by a person in whom he placed entire credit, and who was then (1679) at court, that it was concerted in the cabinet council, that all measures should be taken to exasperate the Scottish fanatics to some broil or other, that there might be a pretence to keep up the standing forces; that Lauderdale was written to, and made acquainted with the design, and when he came to court, towards the end of October, the project of bringing down the highlanders was brought to a bearing; i. 454. Add to this, that the introduction of the highland host, as it was termed, was by the express orders of the king. Id. 458.

they

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Highland
host intro-
duced into
the west.
Jan. 25.

they recommended an unlimited indulgence, as the most efficacious method to reclaim them, and the only expedient to dissolve their conventicles; a proof that the proper remedy for the disorders of the times, though rejected by an outrageous government, was sufficiently understood³.

No sooner were the bonds of peace refused, than the design was manifest, to obtain a pretext for a standing army, and the western counties were represented and treated by Lauderdale, as in a state of actual revolt. English troops were appointed by Charles to march to the borders; the Irish forces to the opposite coasts. Six thousand lawless highlanders were invited from their mountains; and a previous indemnity was granted to encourage every excess. The guards and militia were dispatched with a train of artillery, and by the express injunctions of Charles, a hostile army of ten thousand men was introduced to suppress the insurrection of a country in profound repose. As there was plunder every where, but no enemy to be found, the highlanders overspread the devoted country; and their depredations, instead of being restrained, were abetted and shared by their rapacious chiefs. The western counties were the most industrious and populous; the people the most religious, if not the most civilized, were abandoned to a part of the nation the most indigent and barbarous, of an unknown language, ferocious manners, instigated by hereditary prejudices, and

³ Woodrow, 451-7. Burnet, ii. 183.

addicted

addicted to habitual rapine and revenge. The country was oppressed and ravaged like a conquered province, and filled with extortions, depredations; robberies, and more atrocious crimes. Neither age nor sex was exempt from outrage, and torture was freely employed to extort a confession of hidden wealth. The people were stripped and robbed even of their cloaths and furniture, which appeared invaluable to a rude banditti; and the labours of the plough were suspended, and the horses seized, to transport the spoil to their hills*.

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A committee of council attended the army, to enforce the bonds. But the gentlemen, who observed that the subscribers suffered indiscriminately with themselves, persisted in their refusal, and were ignominiously disarmed, deprived of their saddle horses and swords, and subjected to a new species of legal persecution. An individual, by an application upon oath, might obtain a writ of *lawburrows* from a magistrate, to oblige another, of whose violence he was apprehensive, to furnish security for his good behaviour; and a precaution used against personal danger, was converted, by the most oppressive chicane, into an alternative for the bonds†.

General
lawburrows
issued.

A general

* Id. Woodrow, i. 467-96. Law's Diary, MS. Air alone lost 16,000 £ sterling.

† "And since every private subject may force such from whom they fear any harm to secure them by lawburrows, and that it hath been the uncontroverted and legal practice of his majesty's privy council, to oblige such whose peaceableness they suspected, to secure the peace for themselves, wives, bairns, &c.

therefore

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1678.

A general writ of *lawburrows* was issued at the suit of the king, against a whole country, to find security, according to the terms of the bonds for preventing conventicles, under the penalty of double rents, and whatever else the council might inflict. Such as subscribed the bonds were required to dismiss their suspected tenants, whom, unless their conformity were attested by the curate, no landlord was permitted to receive on his estate. To suppress their complaints, and at the same time to prevent their escape, the unhappy sufferers were prohibited to approach the capital, or to depart from the kingdom; and the nobility and gentry, interrogated by the council, were compelled to exculpate themselves by oath from a fictitious accusation of state crimes. On the premature report of an insurrection, Lauderdale and his friends were unable to dissemble their joy, or to conceal their dejection when the intelligence was disproved. That their design in these measures was to render the people desperate, and impel them to rebellion, can admit of no dispute. But the people were impressed with the same opinion, that an insurrection was solicited, and if unable to divine the motive, were the more careful, by their patient sufferings, to disappoint the manifest expectation of the court⁶.

therefore the privy council, considering that his majesty has declared his just suspicion of such as refuse or delay to take the bonds, &c. Woodrow, i. App. 182. See Sir G. Mackenzie, ii. 345.

⁶ Woodrow, i. 477—81. App. 179. Burnet, ii, 185.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the prohibition to quit the kingdom, fourteen peers and fifty gentlemen, of whom duke Hamilton was threatened, and the earls of Cassilis and Loudon, lord Cochran, and others, were charged with lawburrows, and denounced outlaws, repaired to court, and were joined in their complaints by Athol and Perth, two of the committee of council employed in the West⁷. As they had departed without permission, an audience was refused. But the invasion and sufferings of the western counties had excited universal execration; and amidst the fervid debates of the English commons, the voice of two nations was too powerful to be resisted. Was this the spirit of government which was displayed in Scotland? or were these the measures to be adopted in England when the dark designs of the court were mature for execution? An address for Lauderdale's removal was rejected; but it was necessary to suspend his enormities, to recal the lawburrows and bonds, and disband the army; and the highlanders, after exacting free quarters, and wasting the country for three months, were dismissed with impunity and wealth to their hills. Hamilton and the chief nobility were heard in presence of the cabinet council, and when taxed by the king with disobedience to his proclamations, in repairing to court, their only answer was their sufferings and com-

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1678.
Complaints
of the nobility and
gentry,

May 25.

⁷ Burnet, ii. 185. The invasion was disapproved by many of Lauderdale's friends in council, not admitted to the secrets of the court.

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1678.

plaints. In the midst of profound tranquillity, when not a shadow nor surmise of insurrection existed, to let one part, the most barbarous of the nation, loose against the other ; to instigate the excesses of the one by a previous indemnity ; to devote the other, like a hostile country, to indiscriminate ravage ; was without example in a civilized state. Lauderdale, who remained in Scotland, secure of impunity, was vindicated by Danby and the duke of York. Field conventicles had been styled in the late acts, the rendezvous of rebellion ; and it was inferred from this rhetorical expression, that wherever conventicles prevailed, the country was in a state of actual insurrection and revolt. Free quarters for a few days were of little estimation, when the fortunes and lives of the people were proffered by parliament for his majesty's support ; the bonds were tendered, not enforced, as an exemption from free quarters ; and where the king was apprehensive of danger from his own subjects, the writ of lawburrows was a just and necessary alternative for the bonds. The miserable apologies to which tyranny must resort, dishonour and degrade the tongue that utters, and the understanding that receives them. The Scottish nobility imagined at first, that their sovereign was touched with pity and compunction at their wrongs. But when he required their complaints to be produced in writing, when they demanded an indemnity from leasing-making, before they preferred an accusation against the privy council,

his

Rejected
by Charles.

his positive refusal revealed the insidious design. Unwilling to disown a minister, who had exceeded perhaps in the execution of his express commands, he declared that he was well assured of an insurrection intended in Scotland, but it should be his care that the actors should suffer; and bestowed next day, in a letter which cannot be ascribed to Lauderdale, a full approbation on the measures of council, because the nobility, from the iniquity of its administration, durst not subscribe their just complaints^{*}.

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1678.

The absence of his opponents was seized by Lauderdale, as an opportune moment to summon a convention of estates. The nobility who remained at home, were seduced by bribes. The elections were secured, or decided afterwards by his influence, and before the return of his adversaries, the opposition so formidable in the late parliament, was surmounted or quelled. The monthly assessments of six thousand pounds, introduced by Cromwell, were retained, and are still observed as the rate at which the land-tax is imposed. Five monthly assessments, or thirty thousand pounds a-year were granted for five years, to support additional troops for the suppression of conventicles; and the most unqualified approbation was bestowed on Lauderdale's administration, in a letter to the king. Such base and abject servility, after the late popular complaints, exposed the country to deserved

Convention
of estates.

^{*} Burnet, 187. Woodrow, i. 501—9.

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1678.

contempt; but an assentment expressly granted to suppress those seminaries of rebellion which were held in the fields, was productive of a doubt, and at length of a division among the presbyterians; whether to avoid persecution themselves it were lawful to contribute taxes to the persecution of such as frequented conventicles⁹.

Causes of
an insur-
rection.

It was the king's intention, according to some historians, to introduce a milder administration under the duke of Monmouth, (who had married the heiress, and obtained the estate and titles of Buccleugh in Scotland,) when the alarm of the popish plot intervened. The tyranny actually endured in the one kingdom, was the more deeply apprehended in the other; and as the nobility and clergy, whose complaints the king disregarded, had acquired the friendship of the popular leaders in the English parliament¹⁰, an insurrection has been too hastily ascribed to their correspondence and combination to renew the events of the preceding reign. A memorable speech of the earl of Shaftesbury's, that popery was intended to introduce slavery into England, but that slavery was the harbinger of popery in Scotland, was transmitted to Edinburgh, and eight thousand fanatical Scots

March 25.

⁹ Woodrow, i. 528. Burnet, i. 588. Kirkton, MS. 99.

¹⁰ "Some of our lords and gentry made acquaintance with the English dissenters, which stuck to them while they lived." Kirkton. Such is the only evidence I have found, in Scottish historians, of a correspondence with the English.

are represented as starting to arms as at the sound of a trumpet¹¹. Doubtless the Scots were encouraged by the impeachment of Danby, the vigorous opposition in England to the duke of York, and the attempts to limit or exclude his succession to the throne. But as no trace exists of their correspondence with the popular leaders in England, the operation of a distant speech diffused by the pen, must be rejected as a wretched fiction; more especially as an intermediate series of domestic incidents, removes this marvellous succession of events. The cruel and iniquitous prosecution of the popish plot, had inflamed the court party with revenge, and the covenanters with the obstinate fury of despair. The highlanders were removed, but they were replaced with five thousand additional troops. The western and southern shires were filled with garrisons in private houses, or with troops permitted to range at large in quest of conventicles, and indemnified for every violence committed in the search or pursuit. Additional judges were commissioned in each county, with the most rigorous instructions to enforce the laws, and the most unlimited and despotical powers in ecclesiastical affairs; and their diligence and injustice were equally stimulated by permission to appropriate a moiety of the fines to themselves. The worst tyranny is a despotism under the disguise of the laws. On the slightest expression or suspicion of

¹¹ See NOTE III.

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1679.

discontent; the opponents of Lauderdale were accused and convicted of propagating sedition, imprisoned and fined by the privy council; and, under the accumulated oppressions of government, men began to grow weary of their country, and even of their lives. In the furious administration of Lauderdale, it is in vain to search for the remote and latent causes of public events, or to reduce them under any common arrangement or description of crimes. Every new severity was productive of additional discontent, which fresh severities were employed to exasperate and repress; nor is a different principle to be discovered in the government of Scotland, during the reigns of Charles and his brother James. As the vindictive rigour and resentment of government were at once the cause and effect of the public discontent, each year, and, with a single, transient exception, every administration was worse than the preceding. Persecution and fanaticism continued mutually to exasperate and augment each other, but it is the nature of persecution to vitiate the human heart, and to debase and contaminate the national character wherever it prevails. The unhappy victims whom it reduces to despair, become vindictive, cruel, and unrelenting as their persecutors; and if inferior in open force, more insidious in their revenge. The covenanters had already begun to retaliate on the military, of whom some were murdered at night in their quarters, when an event which threatened to revive the practices of
the

the ancient Scots, impelled each party to the most desperate extremes¹².

BOOK
VIII.

1679.
Murder of
Sharp.
May 3.

Under the primate's jurisdiction and influence, Carmichael, one of the commissioners appointed to exterminate conventicles, was peculiarly noted for his cruelties in Fife. If we may believe his enemies, he was accustomed among other enormities to beat and abuse the women and children, and to torture the servants with lighted matches, to discover where their husbands, their fathers, or masters were concealed. Nine of those unhappy fugitives, who wandered in small parties, intercommuned and interdicted from society, determined to intercept and chastise his person, if not to avenge their wrongs on his life. When about to separate, after an ineffectual search, they were informed of the archbishop of St. Andrews' approach. As he was slightly attended, the opportunity was embraced as a special dispensation, and the temptation was interpreted a divine call to perpetrate a detestable deed. They pursued and overtook his coach upon Magus-Moor, within a few miles of St. Andrews; dismounted his attendants, and as their shots proved ineffectual, dragged the archbishop from his daughter's arms. His offers and entreaties for life were unavailing. They protested that they were actuated by no motives of personal revenge, reproached him with perjury in Mitchel's trial, admonished him of the blood of the saints, in

¹² Woodrow's MS. Collections, vol. 43. 4to. Hist. ii. 9. 27. Burnet, ii. 182.

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1679.

His cha-
racter.

which his hands were embued, and, amidst the shrieks and struggles of his daughter to save him, left his dead body in the highway, transfixed, and covered with the most barbarous wounds ¹³.

From the first beginning of the reformation in Scotland, Sharp was the third archbishop of St. Andrews who had suffered from popular or private revenge. The assassination of Cardinal Beaton, was a crime congenial to the manners of the nation and the vices of the age. The execution of archbishop Hamilton was sanctioned by the forms of a legal attainder: but the murder of Sharp was regarded even by his enemies as an inhuman act, that redeemed his memory from some share of the detestation which he had incurred ¹⁴. That he was decent, if not regular in his deportment, endued with the most industrious abilities, and not illiterate, was never disputed; that he was vain, vindictive, perfidious, at once haughty and servile, rapacious and cruel, his friends have never attempted to disown. His apostacy was never forgiven by the presbyterians; but instead of disarming their resentment by moderation, he became an unrelenting persecutor, like most apostates, actuated by a hatred to the sect which he had deserted and betrayed ¹⁵. Indifferent to the doctrines, but to the reproaches of his former party the more feelingly

¹³ Woodrow's MS. vol. iv. 8vo. Hist. ii. 30. Sharp's Life.

¹⁴ Burnet, ii. 266. Crawford's MS. Hist. ii. 143.

¹⁵ *Omnis apostata suæ sectæ osor*, was applied also to Lauderdale.

alive,

alive, he appears, under the mask of religious zeal, to have consulted and uniformly gratified his private revenge. His death was acceptable to none but the wilder fanatics, who discovered, in a crime of which they durst not have previously approved, *the execution of righteous judgment by private men.*

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The assassination of a prelate and privy counsellor, might be expected to excite a severe inquiry; but the government was inspired with the most frantic revenge. The people were prohibited the use or possession of arms; and in the proclamation to discover the assassins, the whole body of fanatics was implicated in the crime. Field and armed conventicles were declared to be treason. The people who attended were indirectly ordained to be put to the sword; and when the military were employed to execute this sanguinary proclamation, it was not difficult to predict the insurrection that ensued. The conventicles which persecution alone had created, united into larger masses, and from the very means employed to suppress them, acquired the formidable appearance of a regular army, and of a camp, to which none, except from the near vicinity, repaired unarmed. Parties continued, during the week, in arms, agitated by the murderers of Sharp, who had secretly joined them, and impelled by their preachers to something more than defence. A party of fourscore appeared at Rutherglen, on the anniversary of the restoration, burnt the statutes and acts of council restoring episcopacy, and proclaimed an unsubscribed declaration as their solemn testimony against

Insurrec-
tion in the
West.

May 29.

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June 1.

against the defection of the times. A prudent government might have dissembled the insult, or deferred the punishment for a few days, till their zeal had subsided, and their conventicle was dispersed. A violent government is incapable either of reflection or delay. Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards the celebrated viscount Dundee, was instructed to seize, or on their resistance, to extirpate the rebels by the sword. Next Sunday he discovered and attacked their conventicle on Loudoun hill. His dragoons were defeated with loss by a detachment of undisciplined peasants, and he was almost intercepted himself by the gallant Cleland who was killed at the Revolution, in the defence of Dunkeld. Elated perhaps with success, and afraid to disperse or return to their homes, they advanced to Glasgow, where they were repulsed at first; but while their numbers were still considerable and easily dissipated, the town was evacuated, and the whole country abandoned, as if to permit the insurrection to increase. The privy council, so vigilant and prompt to strike while the people were tranquil, recalled its forces to the capital when the people were unwarily betrayed into an insurrection; and amidst the most vigorous preparations through the rest of Scotland, a severe administration appeared solicitous only to justify and enrich itself by the growing magnitude of the revolt ¹⁶.

¹⁶ Woodrow's MSS. vol. xliii. 4to. vol. iv. 8vo. Hist. ii. 44. App. 41. Crawford's MS. Hist. ii. 145.

The insurrection, because it was naturally anticipated or predicted, has been represented as actually instigated by the popular leaders in the English parliament. From the measures pursued in Scotland, commotions, however accidental, were certainly not unexpected¹⁷; but the popular leaders had already been introduced into office; the opponents of Lauderdale, through whom alone they could operate on the covenanters, had returned to court, encouraged by a change of administration to renew their complaints; no commanders nor officers were provided; no persons of rank or influence appeared in arms, and the insurgents were joined by none but the intercommuned, whom the government had reduced to a vagrant and persecuted life of despair. Hamilton and the Scottish lords humanely offered to dispel the insurrection without arms or the effusion of blood, if the sufferings of the people were alleviated, and their oppressors removed. Essex, Halifax, Sunderland, and Temple, endeavoured to procure the removal of Lauderdale; Russel and Shaftesbury, to introduce their friends into the administration of Scotland; but the king was inflexible, notwithstanding their urgent entreaties, and they concurred in his choice of a general in Monmouth, his favourite son. Military aid or assistance from England was opposed and prevented by Essex and Shaftesbury; apprehensive,

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The insur-
rection ac-
cidental.

¹⁷ Such seems to be the foundation of a passage in Algernon Sydney's Letters, p. 37.; from which some have inferred that the insurrection was not accidental. See, however, p. 48. of his Letters, edit. 1772.

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as has since appeared, that a standing army might again be raised¹⁸; but the most ample powers were conferred on Monmouth, to negotiate or fight. Such instructions were the more alarming to Lauderdale, lest a rebellion ascribed to the violence of his government might be appeased by lenity, if time or opportunity were given to reclaim the insurgents. When the council had adjourned, he demanded privately, if the king intended to follow his father's footsteps to the scaffold; represented that the commotions, prolonged and encouraged by treaty, might soon extend to the two kingdoms; excused his silence in council, by the insinuation of a crafty favourite, "Were not your enemies at the board?" and persuaded Charles that his son, whom he scrupled not to entrust with arms, might connive with the insurgents if permitted to negotiate. The instructions were secretly altered, to a positive injunction, to be opened in the field, not to treat, but to attack the rebels wherever they were found¹⁹.

Suppression
by Mon-
mouth at
Bothwell-
bridge.

The militia and regular troops were collected at Edinburgh, before Monmouth's arrival; and he advanced against the insurgents at the head of ten thousand men. The whigs, as the covenanters were denominated, remained at Bothwell bridge, in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, to dispute the passage of the Clyde. Their numbers never exceeded four thousand, divided among themselves

¹⁸ See in Dalrymple's Memoirs, i. 264, 314, Effex's Letter to the King.

¹⁹ Burnet, ii. 268. North's Examen. 81.

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by religious disputes²⁰. The original insurgents proposed to condemn the indulgence from which they had separated; the moderate presbyterians refused to accede to the declaration at Rutherglen, or renounce their allegiance; and the grounds of their recourse to arms were not yet adjusted when Monmouth appeared. The latter sent to negotiate with Monmouth, who refused, according to his instructions, to treat; required them to surrender at discretion within an hour, and promised on their submission to intercede with the king. But the fanatics were neither prepared to fight, nor disposed to submit. The bridge was obstinately defended by Hackston of Rathillat, who was ordered, when his ammunition was expended, to retire to the main body, by Hamilton, a preacher who had assumed the command. Monmouth's forces were neither attacked while they passed, nor when they formed beyond the bridge. On the first discharge of artillery, the covenanters were deserted by their ghostly commanders, and overthrown by the disorder produced among their undisciplined horse. Four hundred were killed in the field. A body of twelve hundred surrendered at discretion, and were preserved from massacre, by the humanity of Monmouth. Rejecting the advice of his officers to ravage the country, he dismissed the militia; enforced the discipline of

June 22.

²⁰ Woodrow's MS. vol. xliii. 8vo. Hist. ii. 55. Burnet, 269. At first they were represented at eight, but afterwards reduced to five thousand in the reports to the privy council.

his

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his troops to prevent depredation; and when he departed with his prisoners, even the fanatics acknowledged that his clemency had preserved them from ruin. His humanity was less acceptable at court, where his mercy to rebels was censured afterwards by the duke of York; and the king himself is accused, and apparently with truth, of an infamous declaration, that had he been there the government should not have had the trouble of prisoners²¹. His reception, however, was affectionate; and he was decorated with the title of highness, as if a legitimate prince of the blood. His representation to Charles, that field meetings had originated from the severities practised against house conventicles, procured an indemnity and a limited indulgence; disappointed afterwards by Lauderdale's influence, and his own disgrace.

Scottish
lords heard
against
Lauderdale,

In the mean time the Scottish lords had obtained an audience, and counsel were fully heard on their complaints. But the principal charges were prejudicated by Charles, who declared that it belonged to the crown to dispose of offices, therefore to incapacitate from public trust; to prevent conspiracies, therefore to imprison suspected persons; to suppress insurrections, therefore to raise and distribute troops at discretion, to quarter or employ them as his exigencies required; nor in those particulars, would he suffer his prerogative to be impeached or touched. A declaration the most

²¹ Burnet Confirmed by Cuningham, i. 44. and partly by Macpherson's Original Papers, i. 93. Woodrow's MSS. vol. iv. 8vo.

extraordi-

extraordinary ever uttered perhaps by a limited monarch, was combated with a spirit honourable to the memory of Lockhart, who asserted that the places from which persons thus incapacitated had been arbitrarily excluded, were conferred by the free suffrage of the people, in their corporations or counties; and that his majesty's opinions, respecting conspiracies and insurrections, were inconsistent with the ends for which government was established. It appeared indisputable, that Lauderdale's administration was rapacious, cruel, unjust, and perfidious; and that the introduction of a barbarous horde to live at free quarters on the country, in profound peace, was prohibited by the express laws and constitution of the realm. Mackenzie was reduced to the wretched subterfuge, that as conventicles were figuratively styled in the laws the rendezvous of rebellion, the counties where these predominated were in a state of actual revolt. Essex and Halifax declared, that the complaints were fully established; the former acknowledged that the Scots were entitled by their constitution, to greater freedom than the English themselves; but they were afraid to substitute Monmouth to Lauderdale; and the king was not ashamed to absolve the administration which he was unable to vindicate. It was determined that nothing had been done by Lauderdale but what his majesty had commanded, and would uphold by his prerogative, which was above all law. In private he acknowledged that many detestable things had been done by Lauderdale against the Scots, but that nothing
against

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Who is ac-
quitted by
the king.

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Oppressions
after the
insurrec-
tion.

against his service had appeared ; a sentiment not less dishonourable, than natural to a sovereign who forgets when he separates his interest from the people, that he creates an interest in opposition to the throne ²².

When the triumph and tyranny of Lauderdale were thus confirmed, the indulgence of house conventicles was of short duration, and the indemnity was converted into an amnesty for himself, and the malversation of his friends. To the covenanters, the exception of the officers, clergy, and gentry, of all who had contributed to the insurrection, and neglected to surrender within two months, was rather an act of proscription than of grace. A severe inquisition was made, but the torture proved ineffectual, to discover the supposed correspondence with the disaffected in England. Kid and King, two fanatical preachers, were executed at Edinburgh while the indemnity was proclaimed. Five others, innocent of the archbishop's blood, were selected to expiate his murder at Magus-Moor. Twelve hundred persons conducted from Bothwell, were confined in the Grey Friars' church-yard, where they remained five months, uncovered and exposed to the inclemency of the season. The greater number were at length dismissed, on their bonds of peace. The more obstinate were shipped for the plantations, but the vessel was lost in the Orkneys, and from the inhumanity of the master,

²² Woodrow's Hist. ii. 102—7. Burnet, ii. 264. Ralph, i. 465. See in State Tracts, temp. Car.; and in Somers' Tracts, vii. 195. 200. the additional charges against Lauderdale.
who

who refused to release the prisoners, two hundred perished in the wreck. But the government, gratified by an insurrection so long solicited, was more intent at present on confiscation than revenge. Claverhouse was permitted, by his rapacious cruelties, to avenge his defeat; but the court of justiciary performed a more lucrative circuit in the west. In every parish informations were taken or supplied by the curates. The gentry excepted from the indemnity, their tenants, or others suspected of wealth, who had neglected to surrender, were accused indiscriminately of the murder of Sharp, their share in the late insurrection, or their attendance on conventicles; and the innocent, unless they compounded in private, were remanded to prison till released on surety; the absent were attainted, and forfeitures, during each succeeding circuit and year, continued to multiply as a provision for the army, and a source of emolument to the servants of the crown. Another source of lucrative oppression was discovered in an obsolete law, against such as failed to attend the standard or host of the king. The gentlemen of Fife, and the Lothians, were convicted in such numbers, by the justiciary court, that the remaining shires were remitted for dispatch to the privy council; and by a refined iniquity, the battle of Bothwell was almost equally ruinous to those who were present from disaffection, or absent through fear. But the clemency of the king was gratuitously extolled, because in abetting the

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1679.
Duke of
York's ar-
rival.

extortions of his ministers, he commuted an obsolete treason for the most exorbitant fines²².

Ever since the fall and impeachment of Danby, the duke of York had resided on the continent, till his unexpected appearance, and influence at court, on his brother's illness, disgraced and reduced Monmouth to the same exile from which he had returned himself. The approach of a new parliament did not permit the duke to remain long in England; and to accomplish the removal of Lauderdale, the earl of Tweeddale suggested that there was no place so fit, or so honourable as Scotland, for the reception of the presumptive heir to the crown. The cabinet determined that the duke should return with his family from Brussels, to reside in Scotland; and although he refused to concur in displacing Lauderdale, it was obvious that the administration there would devolve into his hands. During his first visit, he interfered but little in public affairs; discovered a preference for neither party; and by his condescending affability, studied to conciliate all ranks to his interests, by his industrious application to promote the service of the king. But his deportment was artificial, and his affable condescension, so remote from the haughty reserve of his character, was assumed to establish his interest in Scotland, and when fortified there as in Ireland, to support his right of

²² Brand's Description of Orkney, 32. Woodrow, ii. 70.
90. Sir John Lawder, Lord Fountainhall's Decisions.

succession

succession by arms ²⁴. Within three months, when the English parliament was prorogued, he was recalled to court. On his departure he assured the privy council of his unalterable regard, and promised to acquaint the king, that in Scotland he had a brave and loyal nobility and gentry, a wife and regular council, judicatures filled with learned and upright judges, that the disaffected were not near so considerable as represented in England, and that the highland clans, from his endeavours to remove their animosities, were united and firmly attached to the throne. The privy council was not deficient in assurance of support, or attestation of his worth; and had he never returned to Scotland, it is probable that he would not have forfeited the esteem which the nation still entertained for the house of Stewart ²⁵.

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VIII.
1680.

But a party now appeared among the presbyterians, prepared to renounce their allegiance to the crown. The origin of this new sect must be ascribed to the rigours of government; its extravagance, to the sufferings which the intercommuned had endured. When proscribed and driven from their abodes by government, they were pursued by the military like beasts of prey; and their fanaticism was daily exasperated and confirmed by their sufferings and despair. While they roamed or lurked throughout the country, heated and

Origin of
the Cameronians.

²⁴ Dalrymple's Memoirs, i. 276. 347-65.

²⁵ Macpherson's Orig. Pap. i. 96-8. 100. Burnet, 275. Woodrow, ii. 111-49.

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1680.

July 20.

mutually inflaming each other, with religious frenzy, their preachers began to consider their king as a tyrant, and to separate from the great body of the presbyterians, who, according as they enjoyed his protection, or acknowledged his authority, were involved in the iniquity or defection of the times. Cargill and Cameron, who had escaped from Bothwell, returned from the continent to their vagrant flock, which acquired from the latter the name of Cameronians; a designation still appropriated to a religious sect and a regiment of the line. A party appeared in arms at Sanquhar, where Cameron read and affixed a declaration to the market-cross; that although descended from the race of their ancient kings, Charles Stewart, by his perjuries in the breach of his covenanted vows, by his tyrannical government and usurpation over their civil and religious liberties, had dissolved their allegiance, and forfeited all right and title to the crown. They were surprised at Airdsmoss, in the district of Kyle. Cameron and his brother, fighting back to back, obtained by their gallantry an honourable death. Hackston of Rathillet, and fifteen horsemen, were taken prisoners; but the foot, a despicable band of forty peasants, retired into the morass from the pursuit of the guards. Cargill alone continued to preach in the fields. At a conventicle held in the Torwood, he pronounced a solemn excommunication against their persecutors, the dukes of Lauderdale, Rothes, Monmouth, York, and the king himself; a sentence ludicrous at present, but productive then

then of a deep and indelible impression on the whole sect. While we pity or deride their extravagance, it is difficult to condemn them entirely for disowning a government under which they had enjoyed no reciprocal protection, but on the contrary were uniformly persecuted and proscribed ²⁶.

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1680.

The indignity done to the majesty, or name of king, was severely avenged. Cameron's head was inhumanly presented to his aged father, confined in prison, and affixed with his hands to the city gate, in the mock attitude of prayer. Rathillet's sentence was first determined by the privy council, and pronounced next day by the justiciary court. It appeared that he was present, without assisting, at the murder of Sharp; but there is reason to believe that he had endeavoured previously to dissuade his associates from the primate's death. Although reduced so low by his wounds that he was preserved from torture as unable to survive it, he suffered with indifference the amputation of his hands, and endured, with an enthusiastic fortitude, the utmost rigour of an atrocious punishment, which continues to disgrace the humanity of our laws and age. The other prisoners were executed to a man; their heads exhibited a barbarous spectacle at the entrance of the city; or, if stolen and interred by the piety of their friends, were replaced by the heads of other prisoners taken with Cargill ²⁷.

Executions

²⁶ Woodrow, ii. 133—44.

²⁷ Id. 142. Cruickshank's Hist. ii. 68. Burnet, ii. 324. Fountainhall's Memoirs, MS. Adv. Library.

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VIII.1680.
Duke of
York's
severe ad-
ministration.

However cruel or incredible these executions may appear, they were exceeded on the duke of York's return to Scotland. As if the guilty were insufficient to assuage the thirst of revenge, the innocent were artfully, involved in their guilt, Availing itself of the frantic delusion which its own violence and oppression had created, the privy council intermixed its tortures with the most ensnaring questions: Was Sharp's death murder? Was the rising at Bothwell rebellion? Is Charles king, or a tyrant whom it is lawful to dethrone or deprive of life? The unhappy victims of suspicion and rage, too sincere, or from the torture unable to prevaricate, were dismissed from this severe inquisition to the justiciary court; from the justiciary court to the place of execution. Among the first who suffered, for opinions not treasonable till extorted by the council, was a brother of the laird of Skene, convicted on his answers to those interrogatories: but the punishment was afterwards extended even to helpless females, in the flower of their youth²³. The wretched Cameronians who suffered death for their religious opinions, expired with such resolution, that when their lives were offered by the duke, if they would acknowledge, or even exclaim on the scaffold, God bless the king, the very women refused to forfeit the crown

²³ Id. They were executed with some others for child murder. "I am but twenty," said one, with an affecting simplicity, "and am not come here for murder, for they can charge me with nothing but my judgment." Cloud of Witnesses,

of martyrdom. The frenzy of these deluded creatures might have excited the compassion, but could never justify the resentment of government. Their punishment demonstrated the unextinguishable hatred and fury of the royalists, who believed that their former sufferings could never be avenged. From each example they perceived that the opinions were propagated which they attempted to suppress, and that the veneration for the covenant was cherished and increased by the dying breath, and the blood of such numerous martyrs with which it was attested and sealed. But instead of remitting an unavailing punishment, they transferred the execution to an early hour, at a distance from the city, to avoid the multitudes, whom the sufferers never failed to convert by their death. It is said that the persecution was stopt by the duke, who committed the fanatics to hard labour in a house of correction. No example of the fact exists; on the contrary, executions for private opinion continued to multiply during his whole administration and reign. It is asserted, by the same author, that he indulged, without emotion, in contemplating the torture of state prisoners, as a curious experiment, while other counsellors recoiled from the scene; and on one occasion it is certain that he assisted from choice, when Spreul was twice exposed to the question almost without intermission ²⁹.

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1680.

²⁹ Burnet, ii. 324. 424. Woodrow, ii. 164. See Note IV.

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VIII.1681.
His cha-
racter.

His disposition was haughty, severe, inflexible; and his natural severity, heightened by bigotry, was never mitigated by experience; for his character was better adapted to sustain adversity with patience, than prosperity with moderation. The mediocrity of his genius was compensated, imperfectly, by application to business. He introduced a strict œconomy into the revenues of Scotland, but was never able to comprehend the extensive, and reciprocal interests of the people and the throne. His sincerity was the more estimable when compared with his brother's; but he contemned, and without scruple perverted the impartial administration of justice; and his promises were sometimes infringed by his bigotry, sometimes by the pernicious maxim of state necessity. On his return, he forgot the moderation observed in his former visit; and if he continued affable to the tories, as the royalists were now denominated, his mind, exasperated perhaps by a ludicrous incident which I shall proceed to relate, appeared inexorable to the fanatics, of whose support he despaired. Having engrossed the administration to himself, he formed a motley party, composed of Lauderdale's opponents and friends; and impatient of an honourable exile, dispatched his favourite Churchill to solicit his recall, which was still inexpedient, or permission to hold a parliament in Scotland, which it was impossible to refuse³⁰.

University
shut up.

The students at the university of Edinburgh, had engaged by an oath to burn the pope in

³⁰ Fountainhall's Memoirs, MS.

effigy at Christmas. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the magistrates and the military, to prevent this juvenile insult to the duke's religion, they accomplished their purpose with much fortitude and address. The imprisonment of these youthful patriots was resented by the populace. The blue ribbon of the covenant²¹ was revived by boys and apprentices, with an inscription against the pope; and the court party retorted by wearing red ribbons, with a device expressive of their abhorrence of fanaticism. Amidst these absurd disputes, the provost's house was burnt to the ground. The accident was ascribed to revenge, and although no discovery was made, the university was shut up, and the students expelled for a time from the town. These incidents convinced the discerning Churchill that the duke was unable, without his brother's support, to maintain himself in Scotland, much less to assert his right of succession by arms²².

B O O K
VIII.
1681.

The parliament, which was intended to strengthen, and in the one kingdom to secure his right of succession, was opened with magnificence: the crown was borne by Argyle, a distinction regarded as ominous to his family; and on the death of Rothes, the office of chancellor becoming vacant, retained the chief nobility in dependence and

A parliament.
Aug. 13.

²¹ Hence a true blue whig, from the favourite colours of the covenant, adopted, it is said, from an injunction to the Jews (Numbers, xv. 38.) Fountainhall's Mem. MS.

²² Dalrymple's Mem. i. 365.

suspense.

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1681.

Act of suc-
cession.

suspense. An objection to the duke's commission, as a papist incapacitated to represent his brother, was privately agitated; but Hamilton refused to embark in a dangerous opposition, unless a majority were previously secured³³. On assurance of additional security for the protestant religion, an act was passed to assert the unalterable right of succession to the crown. From a fruitful principle, that the regal power was of divine origin, the parliament declared that no difference of religion could alter, that no statute nor law could suspend, the lineal order of succession to the crown; and that it was treason either to attempt an innovation, or to propose limitations on the future administration of the presumptive heir. When we peruse the act, and consider how soon thereafter the crown was forfeited; when we contemplate how frequently and happily the lineal succession has been since inverted, we must smile with contempt at the extreme fragility of political laws, and the anxious precaution with which the most violent are framed to be broken.

Complaints
against
Hatton.

The decline of Lauderdale's credit exposed his brother Hatton to detection and disgrace. He was accused of perjury on Mitchell's trial; his letters were produced; and the infamy of the fact was proclaimed in parliament, but the inquiry was suppressed. Lord Bargeny, the duke of Hamilton's kinsman, imprisoned as accessory to the insurrection of Bothwell, had been twice produced at the bar,

³³ Burnet, ii. 325. Fountainhall's Mem. MS.

and

and accused of treason; but although the day was frequently prefixed, his trial was deferred. When restored to liberty, he discovered by diligent investigation, that two prisoners, taken at Bothwell, were suborned by Hatton, the earl of Murray, and sir John Dalrymple, to give false evidence against his life. Their depositions, in which duke Hamilton was implicated, were prepared beforehand; they were promised a share of the confiscated estates, but whenever the trial approached, their conscience revolted against the crime³⁴. Bargeny's evidence was ready to be produced. Perjury and subornation, charged in open parliament against a supreme judge and an officer of state, demanded public investigation, a condign punishment, or the most ample retribution; but the duke interposed, to prevent enquiry; though not displeased that Lauderdale and his brother were exposed to public infamy, satisfied that they would remain at the mercy of the crown³⁵.

The act of succession had passed, on the promise of the two brothers to grant whatever security for the protestant faith the parliament should require; but the performance of this public, and solemn assurance does no credit to the sincerity of James.

³⁴ Burnet, ii. 325. Woodrow, ii. 125. Cuningham of Mongreennan's Declaration (subjoined to the Original Papers on the Scotch Plot, 1704); a curious picture of the corruption of the times. He was suborned with his servant; but as he failed to deserve a pardon by perjury, was convicted two years afterwards of the insurrection at Bothwell. Woodrow, ii. 292.

³⁵ Fountainhall's Dec. i. 150.

When

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1681.

When demanded so loudly that it could no longer be withheld, the security of the protestant religion was insidiously converted into a test of passive obedience, for the security of the throne. A declaration from persons in office, of their adherence to the protestant religion, was at first proposed. The court party subjoined a recognition of the supremacy, a disavowal of the covenant, and an obligation never to assemble in order to deliberate on civil or ecclesiastical affairs, without the king's permission; never to rise in arms without his authority, nor otherwise to endeavour an alteration of government in church or state. The oath was to be received under the penalty of confiscation, and sworn according to its literal acceptation, by all persons in civil, military, or ecclesiastical offices; the king's legitimate brothers or sons excepted: and as the test was meant to incapacitate the presbyterians, it was extended to the whole body of electors, and members elected to serve in parliament ³⁶.

Opposed
with vio-
lence.

Such a violent invasion of their privileges excited fierce debates. The presbyterians would have dispensed with the security of religion, to avoid the test, which the duke regarded and urged as a political engine, the bishops as a salutary expedient for the preservation of their order, against the danger to be apprehended from a presbyterian parliament. However secure from their own innovations, lord Belhaven observed that there was no

³⁶ Fountainhall's Memoirs, MS. Burnet, ii. 329.

provision.

provision to preserve their religion against a popish or fanatical successor ; but the words were no sooner uttered than he was sent to the castle. Argyle, with more moderation, deplored the frequency of religious oaths, but opposed the exemption of the royal family, as a permission, if not an encouragement to depart from the national church. If an exemption were made, he proposed that it should be expressly confined to the duke ; but when the latter rose to resist the motion, he concluded that the exception was pernicious to the protestant faith ; and notwithstanding a previous intimation, that he would oppose whatever was adverse to religion, his words were observed to produce a deep and indelible impression on James. But the opposition to the test was ineffectual, nor was a delay admitted for a single night. As it was difficult to ascertain, or define with accuracy, what was the precise standard of the protestant religion, Dalrymple, the president, suggested as the rule of faith, the earliest confession of the first reformers, framed to expose the errors of popery, and to justify their resistance to the queen regent, and ratified by the first parliament of James VI. when Mary was compelled to resign her crown. It was artfully proposed as irreconcilable to the test, and had been refused so long for the Westminster confession, that its contents were unknown to the illiterate prelates, and adopted without being understood or read. The test was accordingly framed, and approved by a majority of seven votes. When examined, it appeared a mass of the most absurd

BOOK
VIII.1681.
Its con-
tradictions.

contradictions. A long inconsistent oath was prescribed, to adhere, according to this obsolete confession, to the protestant faith, yet by the recognition of supremacy, to conform to whatever religion the king might appoint; to maintain the former presbyterian discipline, yet to attempt no alteration in the present episcopal form of the church; to abjure the doctrines, and renounce the right of resistance, but at the same time, as a religious duty incumbent by the confession on good subjects, to repress the tyranny and resist the oppression of kings. No sincere presbyterian could subscribe the oath. None of the episcopal persuasion could assent conscientiously to the confession of faith. A papist could accept of neither. But when both were conjoined, and every explication different from the literal sense was disavowed, it was impossible, without perjury, either to receive or to reconcile the test to itself³⁷.

Explanations of the test.

The parliament concluded with little credit to the reputation of James. Whatever were his moral or private qualities, it was observed that he inherited all the obstinacy, and the same species of political insincerity, which his father possessed; but, in the management of parliament, discovered little capacity for the nice conduct of public affairs³⁸. To evade the promise of an additional security for the protestant faith, he deceived and

³⁷ Burnet, 331. Fountainhall's Mem. MS. Dec. i. 149. Woodrow, ii. 195. Argyle's Case, p. 3. written by Sir James Stewart.

³⁸ Fountainhall's Dec. i. 157.

endeavoured to entangle the presbyterians in an ensnaring test. From his own violence, he was over-reached by Dalrymple, and the oath intended to exclude the presbyterians, was rendered adverse and equally irreconcilable to every religious persuasion and sect. A test contradicted throughout by the confession of faith, was expected to be abandoned; but the court party was inured to political oaths. The duke was determined not to forego the political advantages of a test from which he was relieved himself; a strange example of the nature of persecution, and of his character, in exacting from the presbyterians an acknowledgement of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown, which his own religion disavowed, nor permitted him to subscribe. But the established clergy were the first to dissent. To appease their scruples, an explanation prepared by Paterfon, bishop of Edinburgh, was approved by the privy council; that it was not meant to assent to every proposition, but to the fundamental articles of the confession of faith; and that the apostolical right of episcopacy was neither disowned, nor an alteration of its legal establishment intended by the test. But the oath was to be received in its literal acceptation. Eighty clergymen, more conscientious and pious, resigned their livings, rather than subscribe either to the literal sense or explanation of the test. The presbyterians mostly declined the oath. The earl of Queensberry subscribed it in council, with a courtly explanation, that the obligation not to attempt an
alteration

BOOK
VIII.1687.
Argyle's
explanation.

alteration in church or state, implied no opposition to any alteration introduced by the king.³⁹

The earl of Argyle, when required by the duke to subscribe the test, was admonished privately, by the bishop of Edinburgh, not to ruin an ancient family, nor augment the resentment which his opposition had kindled. In the late parliament an attempt had been made, with the duke's concurrence, to divest him of his family jurisdictions and estate. Instead of the ordinary judicatures, a special commission was next proposed, to examine, or rather to resume the gift of his father's forfeiture; he was refused access to the king for protection; displaced with Dalrymple from the court of session; and no doubt can remain of the duke's intention to ruin a potent nobleman, whose implicit and unreserved support he despaired to obtain. Argyle, aware of the danger, would have resigned his employments; but on obtaining the duke's approbation, he accepted the test as a privy counsellor, with an explanation: "That as the
"parliament never meant to impose contradictory
"oaths, he took it as far as consistent with itself,
"and the protestant faith; but that he meant not
"to bind or preclude himself in his station, in a
"lawful manner, from wishing or endeavouring
"any alteration which he thought of advantage to
"the church or state, and not repugnant to the
"protestant religion, and his loyalty; and this he

³⁹ Woodrow, ii. 198. Argyle's Case.

"understood

“understood to be a part of his oath.” His explanation was graciously received. He resumed his seat on the duke’s invitation, but declined to vote in the general explanation which the council pronounced that day on the test. Next day he was required in council to renew the oath, as a commissioner of treasury, and when he referred to his former explanation, it was clamorously demanded. Alarmed at this eager importunity, he acknowledged, but refused to subscribe the explanation, and was immediately displaced from the council board. Within a few days, he was enjoined to enter prisoner in the castle, and accused of leasing-making, perjury, and treason; of depraving the laws, and assuming the legislative powers of the state ⁴⁰.

BOOK
VIII.
1681.

For which
he is ac-
cused.

No man could believe, that the ministerial cabal was so bold and flagitious, or the duke of such a ductile or tyrannical disposition, as to persist in a judicial trial, to deprive Argyle of his honours, estate, and life. Nothing farther was apprehended at first, than a design to extort, by menaces, a more ample submission; the surrender of his jurisdictions, and a part of his estates. Eight advocates, who signed an opinion that the explanation was legal, were severely threatened; the assistance of Lockhart was thrice prohibited, and granted only lest Argyle, if deprived of counsel, might refuse to plead. The iniquity of the whole trial is manifest; but it is proper

His trial.

⁴⁰ Woodrow, 3. 7. &c. Burnet, ii. 335.

BOOK
VIII.

1681.

Dec. 12.

to investigate the minute particulars, as a whole-
some example to future times. When arraigned at
the bar of the justiciary court, Argyle's explanation
of the test was perverted throughout. That the par-
liament never meant to impose contradictory oaths,
was converted by Mackenzie, the king's advocate,
into a tacit, defamatory implication, that such con-
tradictory oaths were imposed by parliament. That
he took the oath as far as consistent with itself
and the protestant religion, implied, maliciously,
that it was consistent with neither. That he was
not thereby precluded from such alterations as he
deemed advantageous, absolved him treasonable,
inasmuch as his majesty's consent was omitted,
from every obligation to the church or state. That
he understood this to be a part of his oath, invaded
and transferred the legislative power of the estates
to himself. On such miserable comments, leasing-
making, perjury, and treason, were deduced from
a perversion of the most innocent words. The
pleadings are extant, and the arguments of
Lockhart reflect dishonour on the public ac-
cuser and the court. He demonstrated to the
secret conviction of the judges themselves, that
the explanation, far from amounting to treason,
was not even criminal; and that the particular
expressions, instead of depraving the laws, were
of the most innocent import, necessary to disburden
the conscience from perjury, and strictly legal.
But the question was already prejudged in council.
The court was adjourned; but the judges continued
sitting till midnight, to determine on the *relevancy*
of

of the libel, whether in point of law the explanation of the test was sufficient to constitute the crimes which the indictment contained. Collington, an old cavalier, Harcarfe a just and learned judge, opposed and prolonged the deliberations on the *relevancy* of the indictment, which was supported by Newton and Forret, the former instruments of Lauderdale's corruption. Queensberry, who presided as justice general, had received the oath with an explanation himself; and in this delicate situation, when the judges were equally divided, his conviction was sufficiently attested, by his reluctance to forfeit the preferment and favour of court, by a decisive vote to absolve Argyle. To relieve him from this disgraceful dilemma, Nairn, a superannuated judge, whose attendance had been long dispensed with, was roused from his bed at midnight; and the proceedings were read over, as he had not heard the debate; but he dropt asleep till awakened for his vote. The interlocutor was pronounced next day, in the strict forms of unsubstantial justice; "Sustaining the charges as relevant, repelling the legal defences against treason and leasing-making, and remitting the indictment, with the defence against perjury, to the knowledge of an assize." Unconscious of this midnight divan, Argyle and his counsel were overwhelmed with surprise and despair. They declined to challenge the jurors and interrogate the witnesses, or disdained to renew an unavailing defence. The jury asserted their full share of infamy, in this iniquitous transaction.

BOOK
VIII.

1681.

Convicted.

Motives of
the trial.

Montrose; the chancellor or foreman, dishonoured his grandfather's memory, to avenge his death; and of eleven peers and four commoners, seven were privy-counsellors, personal enemies, deeply engaged in the prosecution of Argyle. From a gross affectation of impartiality, they acquitted him of perjury in receiving the oath in a false acceptance, but found by an unanimous verdict, that he was guilty of treason and leasing-making to their full extent⁴¹.

It is in vain that apologetical historians pretend, in vain does James assert in his memoirs, that nothing more was intended than to wrest some dangerous jurisdictions out of the hands of Argyle. A man who perverts the course of justice, to acquire an undue power over another's life, has no claim to credit for the motives which it may be convenient to assert, when his victim has escaped. Argyle had already offered to surrender those jurisdictions, unconditionally, to the king. The design was to ruin the head of the presbyterian party, and to divide his estates among the duke's friends. Whatever were their original designs against his life, his execution, if sentence were once pronounced, was a single, additional step which their safety might require, and the duke's authority was sufficient to sustain. When convicted formerly of the same fictitious crimes, he was preserved by Lauderdale, whose influence had now declined, and he discovered that no favour was to be expected.

⁴¹ Burnet. Argyle's Case, ii. 5. 8. 88.

at court. On the return of his messenger, he was informed of the king's instructions, that the sentence should be pronounced and the execution suspended; but every intimation seemed to announce that his death was resolved. The military were ordered to town, and his guards were doubled. Apartments were provided for his reception in the public gaol, to which peers were removed from the castle before execution. The dark and ambiguous expressions of the duke and his creatures, implied that his execution was necessary, and that it would be easier to satisfy the king when done, than to procure his consent. Whether these insinuations were employed to intimidate Argyle, he escaped that evening in the train of his daughter-in-law, the lady Sophia Lindsay, disguised as her page. Sentence of attainder was immediately pronounced. His honours, estate, and life, were forfeited in absence; his arms were reversed and torn; his posterity incapacitated; and a large reward attached to his head. Notwithstanding a general alarm, and a vigilant pursuit, he was conducted to London, by Veitch a clergyman, through unfrequented roads; and Charles, who possessed not the common justice to pardon and restore him, had the generosity not to enquire after the place of his retreat⁴².

BOOK
VIII.
1681.

Argyle's
escape.

Never was a sentence productive of more execration and horror; never, perhaps, was a sentence more flagitiously obtained, than the

Effects of
his sentence
on the
public.

⁴² Argyle's Case, 121. Burnet. Woodrow, ii. 213. Fount. Dec. i. 167.

BOOK
VIII.

1681.

attainder of Argyle. Even the episcopal party, whom James had attached to his person and interest, were indignant at the shameful prostitution of justice, and the depravity of the prime nobility, who had conspired or condescended to the basest offices, to accomplish the ruin of an ancient house. But the presbyterians were struck with consternation and despair. The most obnoxious of such as had opposed the test, and among these, the earl of Loudon, Dalrymple the late president, Stewart an advocate, Fletcher of Salton, retired to the continent. Hamilton, and the proprietors of twenty sheriffships, or extensive regalities, rather than receive a test so pernicious to Argyle, suffered their hereditary jurisdictions to lapse and revert to the crown⁴³. From the horror and antipathy which the sentence inspired, the presbyterians became ever after irreconcilable to James. He allowed them, they said, to continue protestants, but if they once ventured to assert their faith, not the most uniform and meritorious services could atone for a single act of opposition or of zeal⁴⁴. Their fears were communicated to those who had urged his exclusion with such violence in England, whom the dissolution of the last parliament of Charles had left unprotected; and Argyle's case, which was printed in London, produced a deep impression on the public mind. From the coincidence of the two events, his attainder, at the duke's instigation, was compared with the acquittal

⁴³ Woodrow, ii. 225.

⁴⁴ Fount. Mem. MS.

of Shaftesbury, against whom it appeared that the king himself had condescended to solicit evidence, if not to practise the arts of subornation. There was nothing similar to the corruption of the peers and jurors of Argyle; except the venal evidence allotted in England to the vilest of mankind. But the exclusionists anticipated their own destruction, from the attempt to ruin the two protestant earls; and if such were the first fruits of the duke's administration in Scotland, what was to be expected from his tyrannical disposition when he should ascend the throne? What, but the most sanguinary reign of proscription and terror? the fear of which was productive of extensive conspiracies, in which the patriots of each kingdom were involved.

BOOK
VIII.
1682.

Lauderdale, who had outlived his influence, and by a timid vote for the condemnation of Stafford, incurred the duke's resentment, sunk under the weight of vexation and age⁴⁵. After the fall of the exclusionists, the duke was recalled to court; but was shipwrecked on his return to Scotland, to place the administration there in confidential hands. He was preserved in his barge, to which Churchill, Legg, and the earls of Middleton and Perth, were admitted: others were saved by boats from the attending yacht, but the vessel sunk with several persons of distinction on board. It was maliciously said, that

Duke ship
wrecked.

⁴⁵ His brother succeeded to the title of earl; but the rapacious duchess had impoverished and despoiled the family of its principal estates. See Fount. Mem Dec. i. 208. 223.

BOOK
VIII.

1682.

the duke appeared chiefly solicitous for his priests and dogs; but if more lives might have been preserved in his barge, the testimony of the drowning seamen acquits him of the first part of this inhuman charge. As if insensible to the horrors of their own situation, they gave a loud shout while sinking themselves, when they observed him safely received into the yacht. On his arrival in Scotland, Queensberry was appointed treasurer, and created a marquis; Perth, justice general, an important office in the present reign; Gordon of Haddow, chancellor, with the title of earl of Aberdeen; and to these men the administration of the kingdom was entrusted by James, with instructions sufficient to authorise the most unrelenting rigour. After a short stay, he returned with the most ample and absurd testimonies from the bishops, of his affection for the church⁴⁶.

Severe administration.

As a change of administration was productive of no change in the measures of a despotical government, the unhappy country procured no relief. Every new ministry created to pursue the same measures, endeavoured to exceed the violence of its predecessors, and to enrich and recommend itself, by oppression, to the court. The most ruinous penalties were ordained to be levied without mitigation; and the people, sensible that unless they conformed they were utterly ruined, returned in a body, but with marked aversion or contempt to the churches, where, in some places,

⁴⁶ Burnet. Macpherson's Orig. Pap. i. 135. Kennet. Fount. Mem.

a sermon

a sermon had been discontinued for many years. The persecution of conventicles became far more severe; the administration of justice more corrupt than ever: the execution of fanatics became daily more frequent: even the military were invested with justiciary powers; and the ingenious cruelty of the justiciary court was exhausted in the invention of new laws and of new crimes. As if the insurrection of Bothwell were not yet avenged, Hume, an inconsiderable landlord, as such excepted from the indemnity, was convicted without evidence of accession to the rebellion, because his *defence was repugnant to the indictment*, or in other words contradictory to the crimes of which he was accused. But his father had sat as a jurymen on the trial of Haddow, the chancellor's grandfather; and as if a retribution were due to the duke's religion, the anniversary of Stafford's death was selected for his execution⁴⁷. Another trial, of which the consequences were more extensive and memorable, created an alarm through the whole kingdom. Laurie of Blackwood was convicted of treason for conversing with tenants involved in the guilt of rebellion. They had remained two years unmolested, neither prosecuted nor intercommuned, but the judicial presumptions on which he was condemned, were strung together in a manner that exhibits a curious specimen of the logic and inventive subtlety of an iniquitous court. As every good subject was bound to

BOOK
VIII.
1682.

Hume's
trial and
execution.

Laurie of
Black-
wood's il-
legal sen-
tence.

⁴⁷ Fount. Mem. Woodrow, ii. 268. Burnet, ii. 340.

B O O K discover those whom he suspected of treason, it
VIII. was treason to converse with a suspected person,
1663. however innocent he might prove. But a person
 once engaged in a rebellion, must be presumed to
 incur the suspicion of the neighbourhood. The
 suspicion of the whole neighbourhood must be
 known to each individual in it. But it was
 proved that the persons with whom Blackwood
 had conversed, had been concerned in rebellion,
 and presumed, as the sole grounds of his con-
 viction, that their treason could not have escaped
 nor failed to excite his suspicion. His execution
 was frequently respited, as his attainder sufficed to
 establish a lucrative precedent for a new and
 comprehensive crime⁴⁸. A proclamation was
 issued against all who had ever harboured or
 communed with rebels : circuit courts of justiciary
 were appointed for their trial and condemnation as
 traitors ; and this inquisition was to subsist three
 years, when an indemnity was promised ; but an
 immediate absolution was conferred on such as
 accepted the test. The proclamation, since Alva's
 persecutions in the Netherlands, the most atrocious
 perhaps which the world had yet seen, com-
 prehended twenty thousand who had held a
 promiscuous intercourse with rebels, and were
 reduced to the cruel alternative of perjury or
 treason. In the succeeding circuits it was strictly
 executed in every article, nor did the ministry
 dissemble their wishes, that the people might be

Its exten-
 sive con-
 sequences.

⁴⁸ Burnet, 243. Fount. Dec. i. 213.

compelled

compelled by its rigour to abandon the kingdom ; but the people flocked to the test, as they did to church ; protesting that they received it against their conscience, to avoid destruction to themselves ⁴⁹.

BOOK
VIII.
1683.

Wearied, however, with the tyranny which they had long endured, and terrified at the prospect of the severer tyranny for which they were reserved, the presbyterians were disposed to yield to the design, and abandon a kingdom where none were safe. The wealthy, alarmed at Blackwood's attainder, prepared to settle or to sell their estates. A scheme concerted during Lauderdale's oppression was revived, to establish a colony in America, and transport themselves and their followers to its unpeopled wilds. Thirty-six noblemen and gentlemen entered into the association, and their agents contracted with the patentees of Carolina for an extensive settlement, where their freedom, religion, and name, might be preserved ⁵⁰. The scheme was encouraged by James, who preferred a desolate country to a disaffected people. But the exclusionists in England, alarmed at the approaching danger of the duke's succession, had projected on the sudden illness of Charles, an early insur-

Conspiracy
in England.

⁴⁹ Fount. Dec. Burnet, ii. 345. " When Dundonald regretted the devastation of the west by the highlanders, Lauderdale replied, that it were better the country bore windle straws and sand larks than boor rebels to the king. This, though not fond of quoting his authority, they now repeated to the king." Fount. Mem. MS.

⁵⁰ Woodrow, ii. 230.

B O O K
VIII.
1683.

rection in the event of his death. After the retreat and death of Shaftesbury, Ruffel and Sidney renewed the communication with the discontented city, exasperated at the loss of its chartered privileges, and invited the Scots to co-operate; while the plan of insurrection extended through England. Men about to abandon their country from oppression, were prepared for the most desperate enterprize to preserve it. Under the pretext of the American expedition or purchase, lord Melville, sir John Cochran, Baillie of Jerviswood, Monro, sir John Campbell of Cessnock, and sir George his son, were invited and repaired to London, to consult with Monmouth and the council of six. A treaty was opened by means of Carstairs, a clergyman, with Argyle and the Scottish exiles in Holland. Ten thousand pounds were demanded for the purchase of arms, with which Argyle undertook to begin an insurrection in the west of Scotland. The earl of Tarras, Monmouth's brother-in-law, was instigated to take arms with his friends on the borders, as soon as the first signal of revolt was sounded in England. Nothing, however, was yet determined nor properly matured. Money was neither provided for Argyle, nor were the Scottish conspirators satisfied with the dilatory caution of their English confederates, whom they regarded as a disjointed cabal, fit only to debate, but incapable of an insurrection, which was daily deferred. While they sent to restrain the impetuosity of their countrymen, they determined, unless greater vigour were immediately adopted,

adopted, to separate from the confederacy, and consult for themselves".

BOOK
VIII.

An insurrection entrusted to so many, and delayed so long, could not remain concealed. A separate plot, of which the subordinate conspirators had discoursed, but concerted nothing, was first detected, to assassinate the king and his brother at the Rye-house, on their return from Newmarket; and the virtuous Russel, the heroical Sidney, suffered for a conspiracy of which they were ignorant. The Scottish conspirators were implicated in the discovery; and Argyle's letters, which perplexed the most skilful decyphers, were intercepted. Melville and Cochran escaped to Holland: Ferguson, the celebrated plotter, was traced to Edinburgh; but when the gates were shut, he found a secure asylum in the common gaol, which was least apt to be suspected or searched. The rest were secured, and remanded to Scotland to be tortured or condemned. But the Scottish conspirators had acted with more circumspection than the English, though impatient of their delays; and from the evidence of Holmes and Shephard, nothing but hearsay reports had transpired. To extort a discovery of their guilt, Gordon of Earlston, attainted in absence, and intercepted with credentials from the Cameronians to their friends abroad, was ordained by Charles to be tortured

1683.
Discovery
of the Rye-
house plot.

"Sprat's Account of the Rye-house Plot, 26. 647. Carstairs' State Papers, 10. 14.

after

BOOK after a sentence of death; but at the sight of
VIII. the instruments of torture, instant madness was
 1684. produced by his horror and despair⁵².

Cefnock's
 trial,

But in state offences, nothing more than the forms of justice were observed in Scotland, and even from these the justiciary court was impatient to recede. Sir Hugh Campbell of Cefnock, an old and venerable gentleman, was first arraigned. As there was no proof of his accession to the conspiracy, he was accused of abetting the insurrection at Bothwell, by reprimanding or exhorting the deserters to return. His defence, that he was then in his own house, remote from the place where the supposed words were uttered, was over-ruled as contrary to the indictment, inferring perjury against the evidence for the crown. His proof was rejected, that the witnesses were actuated by revenge, and suborned by rewards. But when the first witness was produced, and his condemnation appeared inevitable, he stopt and adjured him solemnly, in the midst of his evidence: "Look full in my face, and by the perilous oath you have sworn, take heed to what you say; for I declare, at the peril of my own soul, that to my remembrance I never beheld your face before." Though tutored by previous examinations, the witness was struck with this impressive address. He acknowledged that he knew of nothing against the prisoner; and a loud shout expressed the sympathetic emotions of the public

⁵² Dalrymple's Mem. i. 57. Woodrow, ii. 311. Fount. Dec. i. 245.

mind.

mind. His companion faltered and confessed the same ignorance; confounded by a low and indignant murmur, "What! would you swear "away the honest old gentleman's life?" Perth, the justice general, whose brother had obtained a previous gift of the expected forfeiture, endeavoured repeatedly to prompt and direct the evidence; but the jury for once interposed, and acquitted the prisoner, after a violent dispute with the bench. But the witnesses were loaded with chains till they retracted their evidence; the jury were prosecuted for a riot in court; and old Cefnock, absolved by their verdict, was detained in prison during the remainder of his life³³.

BOOK
VIII.
1684.

And unexpected acquittal.

His acquittal was fatal to Jerviswood, whose life was the more eagerly sought, to convince the people, by a public example, of a genuine conspiracy to assassinate the king. Every discovery was expected from Argyle's letters, which required a double key, for the explanation of the cyphers, and the collocation of the words. Spense, Argyle's secretary, detected in England, was exposed by Perth to repeated tortures. After enduring the common instruments with fortitude, he was deprived of sleep for a week, till a new engine was invented, whose excruciating torments he was unable to sustain³⁴. Yet in this extremity he was

Jerviswood's trial and execution.

³³ Fount. Dec. i. 286. Woodrow, ii. 382.

³⁴ Id. 387. Burnet, ii. 425. Carstairs. The thumbikins, small screws of steel that compressed the thumb and the whole hand with an exquisite torture; an invention brought by Drummond and Dalziel from Russia. Fount Dec. i. 300.

careful

B O O K
VIII.

1684.

Dec. 24.

careful to stipulate, before he consented to decypher the letters, that his evidence should never be judicially employed. Carstairs, subjected to the same tortures, yielded to the same conditions. The discoveries thus extorted, revealed the correspondence with the earl of Tarras and his friends, whose evidence against Jerviswood was procured by threats or the hopes of life. He was produced for trial in the last stage of decay, when the rigours of a long imprisonment had left him few days, or even hours to live. The day after his indictment, he was arraigned at the bar. The defective testimony of his nephew Tarras was supplied by the extrajudicial confession of Carstairs, which was perfidiously read and sustained, not as legal evidence, but by a judicial sophism, as an *adminicle* of proof. His condemnation was to be expected on the most imperfect evidence; but he was conducted on the same day, and within a few hours, from the bar to the scaffold, lest his execution might be disappointed by a natural death. Notwithstanding the enfeebled and dying state to which he was reduced, his deportment is described as a mixture of Roman greatness, and Christian resignation; and the sanguinary Mackenzie, the king's advocate, shrunk from his keen reproaches with compunction and shame. His declaration on the scaffold was interrupted, as usual, by the noise of drums. But his speech was diffused in writing, attesting the common principles of the whigs, his attachment to monarchy and the king's person; but asserting the right of resistance

resistance to preserve the constitution and the protestant faith, and to prevent the judicial effusion of innocent blood. His sister-in-law, a daughter of Wariston, had voluntarily shared his imprisonment, and supported his exhausted frame on the trial. She attended his last moments on the scaffold; and with more than female fortitude, contemplated the melancholy execution of an horrid sentence; his head affixed to the city gates, his body dismembered, quartered, and preserved, to be distributed among the principal towns in the west⁵⁵.

BOOK
VIII.
1624.

The remainder of this atrocious reign exhibits little else than a cruel and oppressive despotism, from the most unprincipled extortion to the most frantic and sanguinary excesses of revenge. Instead of remaining a barren example, the attainder of Blackwood was improved into a fruitful precedent against all who had harboured rebels, or inadvertently communed with persons secretly guilty, as suspected of treason. A general inquisition was made by the clergy and officers of justice, in each county, and almost in every parish of the west and south. A voluminous and secret roll of delinquents was prepared in each, for the approaching circuits of the justiciary court⁵⁶. There

Justice
prostituted
for the
purpose of
extortion.

⁵⁵ Woodrow, Addenda, vol. i. ii. 394. Fount. Dec. MS. Burnet, ii. 427. State Trials, vol. iii.

⁵⁶ The *porteous* rolls for Air contain three hundred; for Lanerk, above two hundred sheets. Few gentlemen were omitted; in Renfrew none. Woodrow, ii. 317.

BOOK
VIII

1684.

Prescrip-
tion of two
thousand.

the test was invariably tendered, to supplant the covenant; and among the means by which it was enforced, gibbets were erected in some villages to intimidate the people⁵⁷. The unhappy recusants were crowded into prisons, and if the evidence were defective, convicted on their own oaths, of an intercourse with rebels, the prevailing crime from which few were exempt. At the conclusion of the first circuit, a proscriptive list of two thousand outlaws, or fugitives from justice, was proclaimed to the nation; and to the mockery of all regular government, subordinate, or rather intermediate circuits were held, by officers invested with justiciary powers, who summoned juries, administered tortures or oaths at discretion, and practised every species of extortion or outrage to be expected when the military are entrusted with the execution of the laws⁵⁸. When revenue becomes the sole or principal object of government, no nation can ever be truly happy, or exempt from the operation of the most vexatious laws; but woe to that devoted country, where the penalties exacted from the wretched inhabitants constitute a fixed and regular subject of finance! The fines imposed on nonconformists and recusants, were diligently collected as a source of public revenue in Scotland; and to render them the more extensive and deeply ruinous, a question was moved in the privy council, whether husbands,

⁵⁷ Woodrow, ii. 412—66.⁵⁸ Id. 318. 401. App. 105. Fount. Dec. i. 235.

liable by statute for the attendance of their wives on conventicles, were not equally amenable for their absence from church. The men had generally returned to public worship, from which their wives abstained, as unnoticed in the act; and Aberdeen the chancellor, feeling his credit undermined at court, adhered strictly to the laws, which was termed popular moderation in these furious times. But the act comprehended all persons deserting the church; man and wife were the same person; and the conclusion, that the husband should incur the penalties of his wife's transgression, was embraced by Queensberry to replenish the treasury, and by Perth from an avowed maxim that the presbyterians were to be governed, or rather exterminated, with an extreme rigour, as enemies irreconcilable to the duke's succession. When the question was referred to Charles, who had ever despised the conscience of women, as much as he esteemed their persons, his brother's instigation determined ungallantly, that husbands were responsible for the absence or offence of their wives. To the Presbyterians this decision was of deep importance. Their ladies for many years had withdrawn from church; and their estates were exposed, by an accumulation of penalties, to the mercy of the crown. Within eleven counties, the penalties exacted of every denomination, amounted to an hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling; and other shires, to avoid the destructive visitation of the circuit courts, submitted to the land-tax, beyond the

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Porter-
field's case.

period for which it was granted by parliament⁵⁹. Nor were the forfeitures for which numbers compounded, included in this estimation of fines. Gentlemen of probity and rank, accused on the most malicious informations, were convicted without legal evidence, on a strained interpretation of obsolete laws, and compelled to redeem their fortunes and lives from some worthless minion or minister of state. Of this iniquitous traffic of justice, some idea may be formed from the example of a gentleman, who had refused, when solicited, to contribute a small sum for the support of Argyle. When the court of session was consulted on this unknown crime, Perth the chancellor, and the fifteen judges, delivered an opinion, that as Argyle, in the first instance, was a traitor, it was treason, in the second instance, to contribute money to his support; to solicit contributions, in the third instance, was equally treasonable, and in the fourth instance, notwithstanding the refusal, it was treason to conceal such a treasonable demand. On this infamous but unanimous opinion of the session, Porterfield was condemned to death by the judiciary court, and obliged to compound with his judge lord Melfort, the chancellor's brother, for his estate and life⁶⁰. Perhaps there are few presbyterian families that were neither involved in proscriptions nor penalties; few of the nobility whose ancestors were neither sufferers nor sharers

⁵⁹ Fount. Dec. 305. Woodrow's Hist. Pref. 60.⁶⁰ Fount. Dec. i. 315. Woodrow, ii. 222.

in the iniquity of the times. But where the prisoners were unable to purchase, or otherwise to deserve their enlargement, the county gaols were disgorged into those of the capital; the the mildest fate of whose wretched tenants, was to be transported as soldiers to Flanders, or as slaves to the plantations ⁶¹.

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Amidst the most rapacious extortions to which the prostitution of justice was thus instrumental, the execution of fanatics was never intermitted; but the complexion of government soon assumed a more sanguinary hue. The situation of the presbyterians was truly deplorable; their clergy ejected, silenced, and driven into exile; the gentlemen labouring under imprisonment or exorbitant penalties; the peasants harassed by the army, and oppressed and ruined by itinerant courts. But the fugitives and the sect of Cameronians, were rendered mad and desperate by the severer vengeance to which they were indiscriminately devoted. Under the name of the united societies of the west, the latter had burnt the test and the act of succession at Lanerk, and renewed their declaration against Charles as a tyrant, and against James as a papist unworthy to reign. They were uniformly convicted on the former ensnaring questions; was Sharp's death murder? was the rising at Bothwell rebellion? is Charles king? and not unfrequently executed within a few hours after their sentence was pronounced. The father durst not receive

Execution
of fanatics.

⁶¹ Woodrow, ii. 339.

his son, nor the wife her husband; the country was prohibited to harbour the fugitives, and the ports were shut against their escape by sea. When expelled from their homes, they resided in caves, among morasses and mountains, or met by stealth and by night for worship; but wherever the mountain men, as they were styled, were discovered, the hue and cry was ordained to be raised. They were pursued and frequently shot by the military, or sought with more insidious diligence by the spies, informers, and officers of justice; and on some occasions it appears that the sagacity of dogs was employed to track their footsteps, and explore their lurking retreats⁶². At a secret meeting of their united societies, they prepared, in language which moves at once our compassion and horror, an admonitory declaration to their persecutors, which nothing could have suggested, and nothing can extenuate, but the deepest despair. After a temperate disavowal of the royal authority, they express their abhorrence of murder committed from a difference of judgment or religious persuasion; but admonish their sanguinary persecutors (between whom and the more moderate, they are careful to discriminate) that from the common principle of self preservation, they will retaliate according to their power, and the degrees of guilt, on such privy counsellors, lords of justiciary, officers, and soldiers, their abettors and informers, whose hands shall still continue to be embrued in

⁶² Woodrow, ii. 429—47—9.

their blood⁶³. The declaration was affixed to different churches, and appeared the more alarming from the murder of two soldiers, active in persecution, whose death the societies have ever disclaimed. Every petty oppressor felt or imagined the knife at his throat. But if a pernicious race of informers was intimidated, the government was instigated to atrocities worse than any which the declaration had denounced. The court of session was again consulted, whether the refusal to answer or to disavow the declaration on oath, could amount to treason; but its prostituted affirmation was insufficient to gratify, the forms of legal execution were too dilatory to assuage the desire of revenge. An absolute and undisguised massacre was ordained, by a vote of council; "That whosoever owned, or refused to disown the declaration on oath, should be put to death, in the presence of two witnesses, though unarmed when taken." A form of abjuration was prescribed, as the only security from military execution. The army was employed to enforce the oath, with instructions to put such as acknowledged the declaration to the sword; to summon a jury, and to execute those on the spot who refused to disown it; to secure their families, above the age of twelve, for transportation, and to consign the habitations of the absent to the flames. Special commissions, or courts of inquiry, were appointed for twelve counties, with justiciary powers; and among other inhuman

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A massacre
voted in
council.

⁶³ See NOTE V.

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Military
executions
and mur-
ders in the
fields.

instructions, women active or obstinate in fanaticism, were ordained to be drowned, as improper objects of military execution⁶⁴.

Such inhuman mandates might appear incredible at present, or exaggerated by party zeal, were they not attested by the records of the privy council. But the execution was not inferior to the spirit with which they were dictated. In whatever districts the declaration had appeared, the aged and infirm were dragged from their homes; the inhabitants of either sex were collected and surrounded by dragoons, with their swords drawn, till the abjuration was received. In other places it was carried by the military from house to house; imposed, indiscriminately, on old and young, and converted into a passport, without which it was death to travel. Innkeepers were required to exact an oath from travellers, that their certificates were genuine; and the meanest sentinel was invested often with justiciary powers. Such was the inflexible observance of religious scruples, that many, who had never heard the declaration before, refused to abjure it; and rather than condemn or disown their brethren, were arraigned, convicted, and led to execution on the same day⁶⁵. But as military execution became more frequent, a sanguinary period ensued, from

⁶⁴ Woodrow, ii. 401—34, 5. From Mallet's Pref. to Amyntor, it would appear that the warrant for this massacre was signed by the king.

⁶⁵ Woodrow, ii. 436—9. App. Hind let loose, 199.

which

which historians have averted their eyes with horror. The recusants were shot to death on the roads, or at their daily occupations in the fields ; the fugitives were slain in the pursuit, or massacred in their retreats, and as the unbridled rage of the soldiers was restrained by no sense of humanity or justice, the most wanton murders were perpetrated without inquiry, and without discrimination. Flight was equivalent to guilt, suspicion to proof. To disown, or acknowledge the king according to the covenant, was alike treasonable ; and death was inflicted in the midst of prayer, or without an interval to prepare for death. Under the command of Drummond, the officers chiefly noted for savage cruelty, were White, Balfour, Grierson, Urquhart of Meldrum, Douglas the marquis of Queensberry's brother, and above all, Graham of Claverhouse, who chose to forfeit, in the blood of his innocent, defenceless countrymen, the heroism so gratuitously ascribed to the viscount Dundee. On one occasion, when six unarmed fugitives were intercepted, four were instantly shot in his presence ; the remaining two were afterwards executed by his order ; and on another, a husband whose flight he had arrested, was produced to his family, to be put to death in the arms of his wife. To enumerate the various examples or victims of cruelty, would be a painful task. Of the number who perished in prison, expired on gibbets, or were murdered in the fields, no certain computation is preserved. But the massacres begun in the present, continued to increase during the succeeding reign ;
and

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Death of
Charles.

and an expression ascribed, perhaps falsely, to James, was repeated with horror, that it never would be well with Scotland till the country south of the Forth were reduced to a hunting field ⁶⁶.

Charles, convinced, according to some historians, that the government, even in England, was too violent to be permanent, had meditated the recall of his favourite Monmouth, and the exile of his brother, who had engrossed the whole administration of affairs. Whatever schemes of reform were projected, a signal alteration in government was certainly intended; but Scotland had no relief to expect from the return of the duke. Preparations, it is said, were already made for his departure, when the king was struck with an apoplexy, and after a slight recovery, relapsed in a few days into another fit, of which he expired. He died in the bosom of the Romish church, at the age of fifty-four, but at a juncture so critical and opportune for the catholics, his unexpected death was imputed to poison ⁶⁷.

⁶⁶ Hind let loose, 200. Woodrow, ii. 444—51. Cruickshank, ii. 335. Cloud of Witnesses. Hist. of the late Revolution in Scotland, by J. S. Lond. 1690. On these massacres, and on the whole persecution of the reign, the episcopal historians are silent as the grave; they have never attempted a minute history of their church, after the restoration. See Skinner's Hist.

⁶⁷ Macpherson's Orig. Pap. i. 147. Burnet, ii. 456. Welwood, 142. It is remarkable, but it does not amount to historical evidence, that the duke of Buckingham concurs with Burnet and Welwood in this fact; that Doctor Short, the principal physician who attended Charles, believed that he had been poisoned, and declared, when dying, that he had been poisoned himself, for speaking his mind too freely of the king's death.

Ever

Ever since the era of the accession, the sovereign became so much estranged from Scotland, that, except in the civil wars of Charles I. his presence or personal interposition has seldom occurred. From the transactions in Scotland, therefore, under Charles II. it is neither possible to discover his private, nor equitable to judge entirely of his public character. His early misfortunes had rendered him an easy, unassuming companion, familiar and intimate with his attendants in exile. His converse with foreign courts had imparted an elegant refinement to his manners, which our former sovereigns never possessed. Affable, indulgent, ingenious and communicative, polite without affectation, facetious and witty without malignity, alike exempt from his father's reserve and his grandfather's buffoonery, he was blessed with all the external and specious qualities of an accomplished prince; and when restored to his subjects, appeared to be born for the delight of the human race. But if adversity be the school of princes, it is seldom that they return from exile amended or improved. His sense of misfortunes had been lost in dissipation, and although his judgment was sound and correct, his mind, engrossed with frivolous pursuits and unworthy pleasures, was incapable or impatient of application to serious affairs. His indolence has been frequently employed to extenuate his vices, by those with whom history is an apology for the crimes or misconduct of kings. He was insincere in his promises, to avoid importunity; ungrateful, to escape

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escape obligations which he was unable to discharge : but these vices had a deeper root, in the distrust and habitual dissimulation acquired in exile. His unfriendly reception abroad, and perhaps his difficulties after his return, had inspired a settled distrust, not only of all parties, but of all mankind. His intrigues and intercourse with every party, with the presbyterians, cavaliers, and papists, had inured him early to a perfidious duplicity ; his easy insinuating address was conducive to the most artful dissimulation ; and his systematical disregard of morals is betrayed in the favourite and uniform maxim of his whole life ; that men were never honest nor sincere from principle, nor women chaste but from humour or caprice. With the manners, taste, and refinement, he had imbibed the licentious gallantry of the French court ; and to his habitual dependence while a fugitive, we must ascribe the venal and prostitute spirit with which, in his secret treaties with Louis, he sold the nation and himself when king. From his popular talents, and the desire of absolute power, which his education among the cavaliers abroad had confirmed, the English found a temporary resource in his indolence and profusion ; and until the last years of his reign, his government, however unconstitutional, was comparatively mild. But his mind was alike adverse to the liberties, and irreconcilable to the religion of the nation, ever ready to sacrifice its glory and its interests to his own criminal pursuits and pleasures ; and a reign, auspicious and popular
at

at its commencement, became, as might naturally be expected, disgraceful and odious before its conclusion.

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His person was tall and graceful; his countenance an assemblage of harsh but majestic features. Historians, struck with his resemblance to the busts of Tiberius, have indulged a comparison of their characters, and the events of their lives; their invariable choice of unprincipled favourites, whom they successively trusted, hated, and destroyed; the profound dissimulation with which they concealed their designs, their indolence and love of pleasure, their early banishment, unexpected succession, and suspicious death⁶⁸. Neither in the social, though licentious pleasures of his court, nor in the government of England, disquieted and therefore controlled by the most opposite factions, did Charles resemble the solitary and suspicious tyrant of Capræ; but the various, and enormous oppressions of his reign in Scotland, may be compared with the tyranny of the worst Cæsars. The only difference is, that instead of the first ranks of the nobility, whom Tiberius extinguished, a more diffusive, and to the people a more insupportable tyranny, extended over the community at large. The only apology for Charles is, that he was not present to superintend or to restrain his ministers; to witness the tortures, the groans, or the murder of his subjects; to compute the sums that were wrung from their misery, or the

Character
of his reign
in Scotland.

⁶⁸ Burnet. Welwood.

blood

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blood indiscriminately shed by his judges and guards. But the crimes of his ministers, and the cries of the people, were repeatedly, yet ineffectually, conveyed to his ear: the orders for a massacre were certainly executed with his approbation, if not subscribed with his hand; and his refusal to alleviate or to listen to the calamities of his subjects, bespeaks a cruel, unforgiving, and obdurate heart; irreconcilable to the presbyterians from former indignities, and without religious bigotry, secretly gratified with religious persecution.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK IX.

Accession, and Parliament of James. — Argyle's Invasion and Execution. — Opposition to the repeal of the Penal Laws and the Test. — Dispensing powers exerted. — Origin and progress of the Revolution in England — in Scotland. — Convention of Estates. — Forfeiture of the Crown by James, — its settlement on the Prince and Princess of Orange.

WHATEVER opposition had been made, in the preceding reign, to a popish successor, there was no party now to resist or disturb the accession of James. The administration of the three kingdoms had been placed in his hands; and when the alarm of the popish, was succeeded by the detection of the Ryehouse plot, the English,

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apparently, were not averse to a tacit compromise for the surrender of their liberties, if their religion were preserved. The first ambiguous declaration of James, that he would neither depart from his just prerogatives, nor invade the established government in church or state, was represented as the word of a prince never yet broken, and magnified as a security above all law. Addressees from every corporate body promised a secure and permanent authority, if from servile corporations, who had surrendered or suffered their privileges to be violated, it was possible to collect the latent spirit or sentiments of the people.

In Scotland.

His accession was equally secure in Scotland. Among the nobility and gentry, his residence there had procured many personal friends, and the royalists were attached to his person by the impunity with which they were indulged in the abuse of power; the highlanders, by his attention to their chieftains, and his care to compose the dissensions of their clans. The presbyterians appeared the objects rather of his commiseration than fear. An indemnity was proclaimed on his accession; but an act of ostentatious clemency was disappointed, as usual, by the exception of all above the rank of mechanics or peasants, and the unhappy fugitives were required to surrender within three weeks, and to submit to the oath of allegiance or to perpetual exile. While the oath of allegiance was thus exacted, it is observable that the coronation oath for Scotland was declined by James, as repugnant to the religion which he proposed

proposed to introduce; but the omission was employed, in a few years, to justify the declaration that he had forfeited the throne¹.

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The indemnity gave no intermission to the murders in the fields; on the contrary, military violence continued to increase. The wretched fugitives were daily shot; or, if tried by a jury of soldiers, executed often in clusters on the highways; and the officers, who should have restrained the troops, were accustomed, with a savage fury, to pistol the prisoners with their own hands. Even the humanity of government was barbarous, and disgraceful to a civilized state. Numbers were transported to Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the North American settlements; but the women were not unfrequently burnt in the cheek, and the ears of the men were lopt off to prevent or detect their return. The most inhuman injunctions which the council had issued, were implicitly executed. Three women at Wigton, who refused the oath of abjuration, were condemned to be drowned. The youngest, a child of thirteen, was suffered to escape. But her sister, a girl of eighteen, and the other, a woman upwards of sixty, were fastened to stakes beneath the sea mark, that as the tide flowed around them, they might suffer the lingering horrors of a protracted death. The eldest was first suffocated by the rising tide. The youngest was suffered to recover, and after respiring awhile, was persuaded by her relations, to

Tyranny
continued.

¹ Woodrow, ii. 471—3. Fount. Mem. MS.

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acknowledge or bless the king; but when they demanded her release, Winram, the officer who attended the execution, on her refusing to sign the abjuration, ordered her to be plunged again into the stream till drowned ².

A parliament.
April 28.

A parliament, summoned in the preceding reign, was opened by Queensberry the commissioner, who had engaged to render the government more despotical than ever, on assurance that the protestant religion should be preserved. The king's intentions were signified in the most arbitrary strain, that the estates were assembled, not only to express their duty, but to exhibit an exemplary compliance to others (the English parliament); that his demands were necessary rather for their own security than for the aggrandizement of his prerogative, which he was determined to maintain in its brightest lustre; and as nothing had been left unattempted, by a fanatical band of assassins and traitors, he trusted that no measure would be omitted to suppress their murderous designs. The commissioner and chancellor, who enlarged successively on the letter, indulged in the most virulent invectives against the fanatics, whom they humanely proposed to extirpate, not as rebels to the king, but as inveterate enemies to the human race. They recommended the most unreserved submission, and never perhaps was a parliament assembled more obsequious to the crown. All opposition was removed with the presbyterians,

² Woodrow, ii. 481—5, 6. Appen. 153.

who

who were excluded by the test. Apparently all sense of freedom was extinguished. The parliament, in a declaration or tender of duty, acknowledged the solid and absolute power with which the first and most fundamental laws of their monarchy, had invested the sovereign; professed their abhorrence of every principle derogatory to his sacred and supreme authority, in which alone their security or their rights consisted; promised a passive or entire obedience without reserve; and as the first fruits of their submissive loyalty, the whole nation, fit for arms, was devoted to his service; the excise was annexed to the crown for ever, and the land-tax conferred on the king for life³.

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In the severe laws against fanatics, the parliament was equally responsive to his demands. As persecution renders the duty of a witness odious as the task of an informer, the people were generally averse to judicial oaths. The refusal to give evidence against traitors was converted into treason; against other delinquents, into the same crimes of which they were accused; and in the hands of the privy council, the rigors of the inquisition were justly apprehended from this outrageous act. To administer or receive the covenant, was created treason; to acknowledge its authority, or even to write in its defence. A ratification was bestowed on every illegal judgment and

New treasons and attainders.

³ Woodrow, ii. 453. App. 147. Ralph, 857. Parl. 1685. c. 2. 12.

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act; and to attest the iniquitous administration of government and justice, the privy council, the judges and officers, both of the state and army, were indemnified for their acceptable services to the king. Field preachers were already subjected to confiscation and death. The same punishment was extended to preachers in house conventicles, and to the whole audience in field meetings; a law of which the inhuman rigor may be estimated from the legal definition of those crimes. Domestic worship, attended by five persons in addition to the family, was punishable as a house conventicle; but if frequented without, at the doors or windows, the latter was reputed a field conventicle, for which the whole congregation were to suffer death. The test was extended almost to all ranks, under such pecuniary penalties as the council should impose; but the attainder of the late conspirators was an immediate source of revenue to the crown. Sixteen were attainted in absence; among whom were the earl of Loudon, lord Melville, Fletcher of Salton, sir Patrick Hume, Dalrymple, Cochran, and other exiles; six were tried at the bar, and among these Campbell of Cessnock submitted, with his son, to the king's pleasure, and, to gratify the rapacious Melfort, was convicted of treason*.

Entails
authorized.

Amidst the new treasons and numerous attainders, which the parliament created or pronounced, an act was passed of an opposite tendency, to authorize the perpetual entail of lands. That the

* Parl. 1685. Burnet, iii. 28.

Scots should have remained so long ignorant, or availed themselves at such a late period, of a feudal institution which other nations were desirous to explode, are circumstances sufficient to excite our attention and surprise. The statute of entails was evaded in England before the Scots had begun to study or improve their laws; and the early sovereigns of the Stewart family would never have consented to a device adapted to perpetuate a feudal aristocracy, which it was the uniform policy of their house to depress. But at present the nobility were no longer the object of jealousy or fear. The estates were required to confirm the sentences of Jerviswood, Argyle, Porterfield; to ratify the opinions of the court of session, that it was treason not to reveal the demand of contributions for traitors, nor to abjure the treasonable declaration of the fanatics; to approve the practice of the justiciary court in proceeding to trial and conviction, the day after the citation was given; and the nobility were secretly alarmed at the retrospective treasons which they were employed to create. From these they perceived that the declaration of new laws, and of new crimes, was lodged entirely in the breast of the judge; and from the numerous attainders which they were required to pronounce, they felt with terror that their lives were exposed to the mercy, and their estates to the rapacity, of the servants of the crown. To preserve their estates from forfeiture, and their families from ruin, it would appear that they sought an indirect expedient to elude the in-

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quitous laws and corrupt practices, which they were too much dependent to reject or resist. Entails had already been introduced in a few instances, but were reprobated as repugnant to the genius of the laws. Corruption of blood, which obstructs the course of succession, was never incurred as the consequence of attainder, unless inflicted by an act of *disability*; and the estates, relying secretly on the maxim, that nothing more could be forfeited than the person attainted was entitled to alienate, passed an act by which lands might be entailed to perpetuity, and the rights of an endless series of heirs, reduced almost to an usufructuary interest during their lives. Under the pretext of securing their estates from alienation or debts, the nobility undoubtedly expected to preserve their families, in the event of an attainder, from the forfeiture of more than the *life-rent* interest or escheat of the heir^s. The commissioner consented to the act, to perpetuate his own acquisitions to his family; and from the tyranny of James, entails were introduced into Scotland, when the rigor of the feudal system had almost expired. In a commercial country, above a fifth, or a third part of the lands is excluded from commerce; and entails will continue to increase, till the magnitude of the evil requires an extensive redress.

^s At the revolution they declared that forfeitures in prejudice of vassals, creditors, and heirs of entail, are a great grievance. Articles of Grievance.

In the mean while, the exiles attainted by parliament had resumed the plan of a descent on Scotland, to which they were stimulated by their private and the public wrongs. Argyle was elected general, and supplied by a rich and zealous widow at Amsterdam, with ten thousand pounds for the purchase of arms⁶. Monmouth reduced from the most splendid hopes to sudden poverty and despair, was invited, and persuaded by the importunity of his followers, to engage in a premature and desperate enterprise, which his judgment condemned; and Fletcher of Saltoun, who alone dissuaded the attempt, disdained, where he approved the object, to desert his friends⁷. While Argyle attempted a descent in Scotland, it was concerted that Monmouth should land in the west of England, where his name and person were so extremely popular, that the whole country was expected to resort to his standard. Argyle embarked, with his friends, at Vlie, and to procure intelligence or pilots, stopt at the Orkneys; but his secretary and surgeon were intercepted, on landing, by Mackenzie the bishop; his expedition was timely disclosed to government; and before his arrival at Lorn, the kingdom was placed in a posture of defence. He erected the fiery cross, which was sent through the highlands, to summon his clan to arms; and issued two declarations,

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IX.1685.
Argyle's
descent:

May 8.

May 17.

⁶ Mrs. Smith, a sugar baker's widow, who had concealed him in London, on his escape from Scotland.

⁷ Burnet, iii. 18.

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the one addressed to his vassals, recapitulating his personal injuries, the other to the covenanters in the name of his adherents, enumerating pathetically the sufferings of the nation under popery and tyranny united; protesting their steadfast adherence to the covenant, and disclaiming allegiance or subjection to a popish king. But his vassals had been secured on the first notice of his approach; the militia was raised through the whole kingdom; the presbyterians were crushed by oppression, or restrained by the presence of a military force; and the Cameronians, who renewed their declaration at Sanquhar, scrupled to join his promiscuous associates, the grounds of whose declaration was repugnant to their own. Two thousand five hundred of his clan were collected; but by a fatal oversight, he lingered in Kintyre to increase his strength, instead of transporting his troops to the Clyde to surprise Dunbarton; to establish a communication with the western fanatics, or to justify the temerity of his enterprise, and confirm the hopes of his followers, by some signal exploit. This ill-fated nobleman was unequal to the situation in which he was placed. His officers disconcerted his plans, and disputed his commands. His shipping, and the military stores which he had deposited in the castle of Ellengreg, were abandoned to some English frigates, and when he descended into Lennox to cross the Clyde, the marquiss of Athole, the duke of Gordon, and the earl of Dunbarton, penetrating in every direction through the country, had almost surrounded his diminutive

diminutive army. His intention to fight was overruled by his officers, and his army, in its march by night towards Glasgow, was misled or betrayed by the guides into a deep morass, where the baggage and horse were lost, and all order and subordination instantly ceased. In the tumult and confusion of a nocturnal retreat, each consulted his own safety, and in the morning not above five hundred of his followers remained. A part escaped at Kilpatrick, across the Clyde, and the rest dispersed. Argyle, in the disguise of a peasant, was overtaken at Paisley by two of the militia, whom his pistols intimidated; but in crossing the Inchanon, was attacked and wounded by five others, and exclaimed in falling, alas! unfortunate Argyle! They regretted, and would have concealed their prisoner's rank, whom they durst not release; but their commander recognized his features notwithstanding his disguise*.

Taken
Prisoner.
June 18.

Never was an illustrious prisoner more ignominiously treated, since the execution of Montrose. The same indignities were prepared for Argyle, from a report that when Montrose was conducted to prison, he appeared at a window, to feast his eyes with the ungenerous spectacle. He was conducted through the same gate, like the vilest malefactor, with his hands bound and his head bare, preceded by the executioner through

And executed on his former sentence.

* Woodrow, ii. 529—39. App. 152. Ralph, i. 854. Fount. Mem. MS.

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the public streets. Tortures were even threatened at his examination, to extort discoveries, but nothing transpired. The privy council deliberated on a new trial; but his enemies were desirous to assert the justice of his former sentence; his friends might entertain a secret hope, that his family would be more easily restored under a new reign, against an attainder so notoriously illegal⁹; and as the king demanded his execution within three days, he was condemned to suffer for his explanation of the test. He retained his fortitude, and even his accustomed mirth, to the last; dined and indulged as usual, in a short slumber before his execution, and in kneeling to submit his neck to the block, embraced the instrument of death with an allusion to its name, as the sweetest maiden he had ever kissed¹⁰. His misfortunes and death were universally commiserated. He was twice condemned for fictitious crimes; and his execution on his former iniquitous sentence, was regarded as little else than judicial murder. The cruel and vindictive character of James, was attested by the most barbarous medals, struck to commemorate his triumph over

June 30.

⁹ Woodrow, ii. 539—41. Lord Hailes ascribes this, on the authority of a family tradition, to Sir George Mackenzie. (Cat. of Lords of Session, p 24.) No doubt Sir George, at the revolution, would assume that merit with Argyle's son, when they sat together in the convention parliament. But he was the man who procured, when king's advocate, that illegal sentence on which he now moved for Argyle's execution.

¹⁰ Woodrow, ii. 541.

an innocent, inoffensive nobleman, whom his own injustice had ruined and reduced to despair ^{B O O K IX.} ^{1585.}

That Argyle should obtain a pardon, could hardly be expected from the character of James, who, on Monmouth's defeat, had no mercy nor remission to extend to his brother's favorite son. In his memoirs, he endeavours to extenuate his own cruelty, and would persuade the world, or himself, that he was released from the ties of affection and blood, inasmuch as Monmouth was neither his nephew nor his brother's son; but the son of Robert, and the nephew of Algernon Sidney, connected both by consanguinity and treason with his inveterate foe ^{Severities of government,} ^{1585.}

The cruelties of Kirk and Jefferies in the west of England, which will never be forgotten, could hardly exceed what the presbyterians had endured in Scotland for twenty years; but at present, from the dissensions of the ministry, the rigors of government were comparatively mild. As there was no battle, few prisoners were taken in arms. Sir Patrick Hume, and the principal officers who crossed the Clyde, had repulsed the military before they dispersed; but Archer a clergyman, and Rumbold the master of Rye, were wounded and executed; Ayloff, another Englishman, was sent to London, nor

¹¹ On the one medal, the heads of Argyle and Monmouth placed on altars, their bleeding bodies beneath, with an inscription, Sic Aras et Sceptra tuemur; on the other, their heads upon spikes, and the inscription, Ambitio malefuada ruit. Cuningham, i. 62. Pennant's Journey to Scotland, 1772. Echard.

¹² Macpherson's Orig. Pap. i. 76.

did

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did his affinity to Clarendon, and the king's children, preserve his life. Cochran, betrayed by his aunt, was redeemed from death by a wealthy father. But the marquis of Athole inflicted cruel ravages on the estates of Argyle; put many gentlemen of his name to death; and, but for a timely application to the privy council, would have executed his son, in the midst of a fever, at his father's gate¹³. The gaols were crowded with prisoners on Argyle's invasion; and numbers, driven northward to Dunnoter castle, were confined in a loathsome contracted dungeon, where they perished daily, for want of the common benefits of water and air. Numbers were transported to the plantations, deprived, as usual, of their ears, and consumed by diseases during a long voyage. But the government was still intent on forfeitures; and attainders continued to multiply during the whole reign¹⁴.

Ruinous to
James.

The destruction of Argyle and Monmouth, instead of confirming the authority, first contributed to the ruin of James. The merciless and bloody circuit, or, as unfeelingly styled in his letters, the campaign of Jefferies¹⁵, destroyed the

¹³ Fount. Dec. i. 360—71.

¹⁴ Id. 301—8—86—9. Woodrow, ii. 548—57—67—76. Burnet, iii. 24. Hind let loose.

¹⁵ "Lord chief justice is making his campaign in the west."
"Lord chief justice has almost done his campaign, he has
"already condemned several hundreds, some of whom are
"already executed, more are to be, and the others sent to the
"plantations." The concise and humane language of a father
of his people! James's Letters. Dalrymple's Mem. ii. 53.

apparent

apparent popularity with which his reign had commenced. Elated at the destruction of his enemies, or rather intoxicated with uninterrupted success; he condescended no longer to dissemble his bigotry or his designs. In his speech to the English parliament, he announced abruptly his resolution to maintain a standing army, and to dispense with the penal laws and the tests; and no explanation was necessary to convince the nation that the former was intended to establish arbitrary power, the latter to introduce the catholics into the church and state. The parliament might have acquiesced in the most arbitrary powers which the sovereign could assume; but was dissolved in anger, as it hesitated to betray the religion, with the liberties of the nation; and from that moment, while his precipitate violence continued to increase, it is observable that his authority began to decline. His good faith, moderation, and judgment, were universally distrusted; and the attachment of his protestant subjects dissolved. The tories, the universities, and the church, amidst the dangers with which their religion was threatened, forgot their professions of implicit subjection, and in the attempt to establish the Romish faith, no party, a few catholics excepted, adhered to the king.

The concessions refused by the English parliament, were expected from Scotland, where protestants received every encouragement which the king could give. Perth the chancellor, and Melfort his brother, disgusted at Queensberry's arrogance, preferred an accusation which appeared

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Introduc-
tion of
popery
attempted.

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so frivolous or invidious at court, that, to preserve their own places, they embraced the popish faith, and like true courtiers, ascribed their opportune conversion, to the papers found in the cabinet of the deceased king. According to an observation of Lord Halifax, their faith had made them whole. Queensberry, stript of his employments, discovered, when too late, that neither the sums extorted for the treasury, nor the merit of rendering the prerogative absolute, could atone for his want of the true faith. The administration, entrusted to none but papists, was committed to Perth, a timorous and cruel, to Melfort a cruel and rapacious statesman, and to the earl of Murray, a convert admitted to an ostensible share of power. Profelytes were not numerous; but the new-born zeal of the chancellor was indefatigable. Shoals of priests were allured to Scotland. The press was abandoned to their care and diligence; a royal seminary, or college of Jesuits, for the gratuitous instruction of youth, was erected in the palace, and a chapel was prepared for the private, yet offensive, celebration of mass. But the populace, to whom it was ever odious, rose tumultuously on Sunday, defaced the superstitious ornaments provided for the chapel, and compelled the priest who officiated to abjure his religion at the altar, by accepting the test ¹⁶.

Unexpected
opposition
in parlia-
ment.

Murray was appointed commissioner to parliament, to expiate, in the opinion of the catholics,

¹⁶ Burnet, iii. 86. Fount. Mem. MS. Dec. i. 399.

the

the crimes of his ancestor, by the repeal of those penal laws which the regent Murray, at the reformation, had enacted against papists. But as many circumstances had contributed to excite apprehension and alarm, the compliant temper of parliament was unexpectedly changed. A secret opposition was encouraged by the example of the English parliament. An abhorrence of popery was revived by controversies, in which the learning and eloquence of the protestant divines was successfully displayed, and the revocation of the edict of Nantz, produced an indelible impression on the minds of men. The French protestants were dispersed through Europe; their outcries, and the representations of their sufferings, increased the horror entertained at popery, and the arrival of fifty thousand refugees in England, afforded a real argument; and a spectacle of its cruel and persecuting spirit, which it was impossible to resist. Under a prince more intolerant and bigoted than Louis XIV. the episcopal party began to apprehend, that the same persecution which they had inflicted on fanatics was reserved for themselves, and as the repeal of the penal laws was sufficiently understood, the parliament, of late so devoted to the crown, became equally tenacious of the rights of the established church. When the king's letter was read, and enforced by the commissioner's speech; when, in return for his offer of a free intercourse of trade with England, and an ample indemnity for state offences, he demanded that his innocent and loyal subjects of the

April 29.

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1636.

Repeal of
the penal
laws and
the test at-
tempted.

the catholic persuasion, might be restored to the protection of the laws, and released from obligations inconsistent with their faith; the estates replied, in respectful yet equivocal terms, that they would proceed as far for the relief of papists as their conscience would permit¹⁷.

The expression used by James, implied the removal of every disability; and as the offer of a commercial intercourse with England was deemed irresistible, the court party proposed the repeal both of the penal laws, and of the test so adverse to the king's designs. They represented that the penalties attached to the Romish worship, confiscation and corporal punishment for the first offence, banishment for the second, and the pains of treason for the third, were unworthy of a christian or even a civilized state; that it was a small concession to gratify the king by the repeal of laws too severe and sanguinary ever to be executed; that the exemption of his catholic subjects from the test, was due to those of his own persuasion, from whose loyalty no danger could result to the throne; that the refusal of a just and moderate relief, might provoke the king to inflict an unforeseen and incurable wound; that without the violation of a single law, the protestants might be displaced at once, by the absolute prerogative with which he was invested, and the papists substituted in every department of the church and state; and as the nation was bound by religion

¹⁷ Woodrow, ii. 591. App. 158.

and

and duty, never to resist the exercise of his divine right, that nothing but the obsequious merit of submission would remain ¹⁸.

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IX.
1696.

As if awakened from a deep lethargy, the episcopal party discovered in these interminations, the full extent of the despotism which they had concurred to rear. Affamed of their former unguarded servility, they maintained that their obedience belonged to the king, but their conscience to God; that in the test which James himself had proposed, they had sworn to admit of no alteration injurious, though remotely, to the protestant religion; and without a violation of their oath, could never consent to the repeal of the penal laws, enacted as a safeguard for the established church; that as these were never executed, but reserved to deter an active, insidious enemy, intent on its destruction, the sudden outcries against their inhuman rigour, must appear peculiarly unreasonable when capital punishments were multiplied against fanatics in every session; that in these times, when protestants were persecuted and reduced so low abroad, no security should be remitted at home: that when papists remained unmolested, disquieted by none, and deprived of nothing but a public establishment, for what purpose did they demand the repeal, but to grasp at all offices of

Opposed,

¹⁸ It may seem strange that the bigotry of men should resort for argument to the most pernicious and absurd extremes to which their principles can be pushed. L'Estrange, then employed in Edinburgh to write for the court, had a large share in these arguments.

B O O K emolument, authority, and trust; to invade each
IX. department in the state; to propagate their worship
 1686. with impunity through the church; and in due
 time, when their strength and designs were mature
 for execution, to supplant the protestant religion
 and re-establish their own?⁹

And re-
 fused.

The introduction of popery was too obvious to
 succeed; but the parliament was studiously pro-
 tracted, and every allurements was offered, every
 intimidation was employed, to obtain its consent.
 Ross the primate, and Paterson, bishop of Edin-
 burgh, endeavoured to procure the concurrence
 of the prelates, but an honourable opposition was
 maintained by Atkins, the venerable bishop of
 Galloway; by Cairncross, archbishop of Glasgow,
 and Bruce of Dunkeld, who were both displaced.
 Lord Pitmedin, the only judge who opposed the
 repeal, was removed from the bench, and
 Mackenzie, the king's advocate, was dismissed
 for Dalrymple. Lockhart, the president, proposed
 a limited toleration; the duke of Hamilton, a
 general indulgence to presbyterians and papists;
 but the commissioners of shires and burrows, who
 adhered together, continued, without a leader
 among the nobility, firm and united in their
 opposition to the court. The indulgence of popish
 worship in private families, was the last attempt;
 but the commissioner, after a violent debate,
 despaired of a concession which the king despised.
 The protestants, conscious of their strength, and

⁹ Fount. Mem. Woodrow, ii. App. 118.

disgusted

disgusted at a long session, threatened to impeach the bishop of Edinburgh, or to ratify the penal laws; and the parliament, which had granted nothing to ministers but gifts of forfeitures, was adjourned, and soon after dissolved by the king ²⁰.

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IX.

1686.

June 15.

The application to parliament, according to the principles, and indeed the language of James, was a gracious offer to accept of its dutiful and submissive consent to his demands. His prerogative was fully equal, in his own opinion, to the repeal or suspension of the penal laws, which the estates had refused. The dispensing powers, which he prepared to assert in England, might be exercised in Scotland, where they were least apt to be disputed; but he used the precaution to purge the council of eleven members, the earls of Mar, Dumfries, Glencairn, and others, who had opposed his designs in parliament, and to substitute some popish lords in their stead. His pleasure was then signified to the obsequious board, that his protection should be extended to all catholics, against the severity of the laws which the judges and magistrates were forbidden to execute; that the free exercise of the popish religion should be indulged in private; and that his chapel should be fitted up, and provided with chaplains for its public celebration. The privy council assented to every demand which the parliament had refused; acquiesced in the pleasure of an absolute monarch, accountable to God alone for his conduct; but

Dispensing
powers.

Sept. 14.

²⁰ Woodrow, ii. 594. App. 160. Fount. Mem.

B O O K IX. 1687. the answer was the less acceptable, as the members hesitated to pronounce the prerogative a legal security for the indulgence which they prepared to grant. At the same time the royal burrows were deprived of their privileges, and the annual election of magistrates suppressed. The provost was named by the king; the magistrates and common council were appointed by the provost, and the election of members transferred to the crown. As the same measures were pursued in England, it appears that James was not indifferent to the sanction of parliament, which he affected to despise²¹.

Declaration
of indul-
gence,

The indulgence to papists was proclaimed in terms of religious toleration, to interest the presbyterians in the repeal of the penal laws and the test. The servile declarations of the parliament were faithfully transcribed; but the disguise assumed by James was too thin to deceive. From the sovereign authority, royal prerogative, and absolute power, with which the king was invested, which his subjects were all bound, without reservation, to obey, he conferred on moderate presbyterians and quakers a limited toleration in private houses; but dispensed indiscriminately with the severe laws against Roman catholics, and repealed whatever prohibitions or penalties they might incur. He permitted the free exercise of their religion in chapels, and the enjoyment of all offices and benefices to be hereafter conferred. He released

²¹ Fount. Dec. i. 424. Woodrow, ii. 599.

them from every restriction but these : not to preach in the open fields ; not to invade the protestant churches by force ; nor to make public processions through the principal streets. He annulled the preceding oaths of supremacy, and the tests ; and substituted a new oath of allegiance, not only to renounce resistance, but to maintain the full exercise of his absolute power. And he declared, for the encouragement of the protestant clergy, “ that he would use no force, nor invincible necessity, against any man on account of his persuasion, or the protestant religion : ” neither would he deprive the present possessors of the lands appropriated formerly to the church ²². Such an arbitrary declaration, approved by none but the obsequious council, was calculated to excite universal discontent. The dispensing powers of prerogative were converted into the repeal of old, and the creation of new laws, to which obedience was demanded, without reservation of the religion or moral obligations of mankind. A new oath was imposed, not as formerly of passive obedience, but for the active support of this absolute power. Even the promise to use no force, nor invincible necessity, on account of religion, nor to revoke the church lands from lay proprietors, intimated, not obscurely, that a change of religion was intended and already begun, and implied a sanguine expectation, that it would be soon complete ²³.

²² Woodrow, ii. 515. App. 186. Ralph, i. 943.

²³ Burnet, iii. 136.

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IX.1687.
Its effects
in Scot-
land.

The declaration was received by the episcopal party with such undissembled rage, that their clergy were unable, either in discourse or in the pulpits, to suppress their discontent. That absolute power which they had laboured to create, was employed for their destruction. The government which they had sought to monopolize, was open to the catholics, and almost equally accessible to the presbyterians, their inveterate foes. Afraid to lose the invidious acquisitions which they had long possessed, they anticipated, and their apprehensions already beheld the return and increase of the fanatics, whom they had subdued or dispersed. Nor was the indulgence acceptable to the presbyterians, who were neither released from the laws, nor from a new oath to which they refused to submit. A second indulgence to dispense with the oath, was accepted by none. A third indulgence was issued; and from the same supreme and absolute authority, the laws against non-conformity, so severe and sanguinary, were indiscriminately repealed. The presbyterians scrupled no longer to embrace the benefit of toleration; but in their addresses to the throne, no approbation was bestowed on the repeal of the penal laws; no solicitation could procure their assent to that insidious design. Their injuries were too recent and deep to be forgotten; nor could the most credulous believe that the author of their late persecution was sincere. They discerned and availed themselves of the intention of James to disunite the protestants; and their clergy, secretly devoted

devoted to the prince of Orange, returned from the continent to accept the indulgence, as a happy expedient to restore and reunite their sect ²⁴.

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1687.

The indulgence, a prelude to a similar declaration in England, admonished all parties there, of the despotism to be expected from the dispensing powers. Amidst the advances which an infatuated monarch had already made, and the violence with which he impelled the nation, towards the Romish see, a fictitious trial had been brought, and by displacing some, or corrupting others, he procured from the twelve judges a confirmation of his prerogative to dispense with the tests. The alarm which an illegal judgment for the crown never fails to excite, was augmented by a declaration of indulgence, which, although more moderate than in Scotland, although it neither asserted the plenitude of absolute power, nor of unreserved obedience, expressed, in suspending the penal laws, an earnest wish that the nation were reconciled to the catholic church; and in addition to the free exercise of religion, suppressed indefinitely, every oath or test that might exclude a part of his subjects from the service of their king. If, at first, the dissenters, from the bitterness of their past sufferings, were gratified with an unexpected, delusive toleration, the discontent of the nation was confirmed by a series of illegal attacks on the established church. The court of high commission was revived, under the auspices of the infamous

Transactions in
England.

²⁴ Burnet, iii. 138. Earl of Balcarra's Memoirs, p. 7. Woodrow, ii. 624.

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Jefferies, and the bishop of London was the first object of its unjust persecution. The privileges of every corporation were invaded, to displace those who adhered to the penal laws and the test. The two universities were successively assailed, in order to introduce the Jesuits, whose superior reputation and industry might engross the education of youth, and the management of the richest foundations in Europe. Although a successful resistance was maintained by Cambridge, Oxford at least was expected to adhere to the passive doctrines of its own decrees. But the fellows of Magdalen college refused to elect as their president, a papist whom the king recommended with a dispensation from their oaths; and on their persisting in the choice of another, were arbitrarily ejected by the ecclesiastical commission, deprived of their fellowships, and declared incapable of ecclesiastical preferment. It is dangerous to violate the privileges of a corporation, much more of an university, whose interest, supported by the union of its members, and espoused with warmth by its former disciples, is diffused through the church and the community at large. The fellows were dispossessed of their freeholds, and the most unalienable property was no longer safe from the dispensing powers. The church was exposed to the same usurpation; its dignities were equally open, and its benefices would soon be transferred by the same dispensation, to Romish priests: but if the seats of learning, by the expulsion of its present members, were once filled with papists, the

the national religion would be poisoned in its source. From the ungrateful bigotry of James, the attachment of the church of England, the last support of the Stewarts, was thus dissolved, and in the hour of danger, its numerous adherents, who had prevented his exclusion, resorted to those principles of liberty and resistance which they had loudly disclaimed.

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IX.
1622.

The imprisonment and trial of the seven bishops, were the last measures of infatuation that remained. When a second indulgence was issued, and ordained to be read in church, the bishops petitioned against an order calculated to reduce the clergy, on their compliance, to the contempt and reproach of becoming accessory to their own destruction; or to subject the disobedient to the penalties recently inflicted by the high commission. The whole nation was agitated at the imprisonment of the fathers of the church. Tears and groans, and the prayers of an immense concourse of people, attended them to prison. The same violent agitation was excited by their trial; but their acquittal resounded through the capital, and was received with tumultuous joy by the whole kingdom, as a religious and even a national triumph over the sovereign. From the public ferment, which was not likely to subside, that dangerous crisis had at length arrived, to which despotism and bigotry conducted James.

Trial of
the seven
bishops.
June 9.

June 15.

The eyes and expectations of men had been long fixed on his nephew, the prince of Orange, whose marriage with his eldest daughter, the princess

Expecta-
tions from
the prince
of Orange.

B.O.O.K. ^{IX.} 1688. princess Mary, had opened a near prospect of obtaining the crown. Religion, as well as interest, had connected William with the popular party, as alike adverse to the ambition of France, and impatient for a protestant successor to the English throne²⁵. The discontented of both nations found a secure asylum in Holland, and an honourable or secret reception at his court; and his connexion with every party was preserved and enlarged by their correspondence with their friends. His interposition had been early solicited²⁶, to preserve the liberties and religion of England, but while his succession continued open, he was averse to a public interference, for which, as yet, there was no pretext. His ambassadors, Dykevelt and Zuliestein, were employed successively in the most secret and extensive intrigues. They negotiated with the church party, the dissenters, the whigs; established a correspondence with the principal nobility, and returned with the warmest assurances of their attachment and support. A pretext for his interference was soon obtained. Stewart, whom James was induced to pardon and recall, was employed in a correspondence with the pensionary Fagel, to solicit the assent of the princess and prince of Orange, to the repeal of the penal laws and the test. The pensionary's answer was dispersed through England, that from the principles of universal toleration, they would concur in the removal of the penal laws, but could never consent

²⁵ D'Avaux, 1681. Macpherson's Orig. Pap. i. 116.

²⁶ Burnet, iii. 119.

to the repeal of the tests, the only secure bulwark which the nation had provided for the protestant faith²⁷. It was received as a public declaration, confirming their private assurances of toleration to the dissenters, and protection to the established church; and the protestants, animated by this discovery of their sentiments, were inspired with an unbounded confidence in the prince.

B. O. O. K.
IX.
1682.

While the chance of a protestant succession remained, the prince was averse to a premature rupture, and the nation was desirous to await the natural course of events. But the birth of a son, during the ferment excited by the imprisonment of the bishops, consoled James with the prospect of a catholic heir, and accelerated every preparation for his ruin. The most injurious surmises had been entertained of the queen's conception; and from some mysterious circumstances, the report of a supposititious child, however improbable at present, was eagerly propagated and implicitly believed. From the prospect of an hereditary, religious despotism, the invitation of the prince of Orange was no longer deferred. The whigs, who had urged the exclusion, were indifferent to the hereditary line of succession, from which the

An extensive confederacy in England.

²⁷ James, and his historian Macpherson, would persuade us that nothing more than a toleration was intended for papists. Why then did he not acquiesce in a repeal of the penal laws, to which the prince would have assented? The repeal of the tests, in which he was inflexible, could have no object but to throw the government into the hands of the papists, to effect a change of religion.

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1688.

tories; who had no view beyond a parliament, were unwilling to deviate. But as every political and religious party deposited their animosities during the common danger, a secret conspiracy was formed by their coalition, the most extensive perhaps, and the best concerted which history has preserved. Many noblemen and gentlemen of distinction, resorted to Holland, whither immense sums were transmitted to the prince²⁸; but the greater number remained dispersed through England, to diffuse the conspiracy; and in consequence of the league of Augsburgh, to circumscribe the aggrandizement of France, almost all the continental princes were concerned in its success. The secret, although entrusted to many thousands²⁹, transpired only from the preparations of the prince of Orange, which were far advanced before James was apprized of his hostile designs. Although his declaration announced that he was invited over by divers of the temporal and spiritual lords, the king was unable to discover the lines of conspiracy with which he was surrounded at home. The declaration issued on the embarkation of the prince, enumerated the grievances of the three kingdoms; the suspicious birth of the prince of Wales, and the necessity of interposing to establish the religion and liberties of the people on a secure foundation³⁰. Terrified at the approaching invasion

²⁸ D'Avaux.

²⁹ Burnet, iii. 217. Dalrymple's M.m.

³⁰ The declaration for England was drawn by Fagel, translated and abridged by Burnet. Tradition has ascribed it

vasion from abroad, and at the contempt and hatred which he had incurred at home, the king endeavoured, when too late, to retract his former illegal measures; but when the Dutch fleet was dispersed, and driven back by a storm to Holland, his confidence in the protection of heaven revived. The expedition was renewed in a few days. While the English fleet was confined to its station, off Harwich, the prince, with six hundred transports and ships of war, passed with an east wind through the Straits of Dover, in the presence of wondering multitudes, who gazed at the sublime spectacle from either coast³¹; and disembarking on the fifth of November at Torbay, afforded a signal proof to the nation, that its navy will not always prevent an invasion, nor a standing army ensure stability to the throne.

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1688.

Prince
lands in
England.

Scotland, to which we now return, had been timely apprised of the intended invasion. The army had been summoned to England, and replaced by the militia and undisciplined highlanders, with which the privy council, whose authority depended on its presence, reluctantly complied. The inclinations of all parties were examined. Some of the episcopal clergy had ceased to pray for the prince of Wales; but the loyalty of their party was soon

Confederacy and
Cabals in
Scotland.

to Stewart, to whom, according to Dalrymple, Dykevelt applied in London. Dykevelt was there in March and May 1687, but the declaration was evidently not drawn till autumn 1688. Instead of being penned, it was probably answered in a series of animadversions by Stewart. Ralph, i. 1033. So uncertain is tradition.

³¹ Boyer's Life of William.

restored,

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1688.

restored, and the bishops concurred in a pious and convivial address to James, as the darling of heaven, that God might give him the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies³². But the presbyterians refused, in the most explicit terms, to support the government. Their clergy who had returned from Holland, and the exiles who accompanied the prince of Orange, had already prepared them to expect his arrival; and although it is uncertain how far the confederacy extended through Scotland, some of the chief nobility participated in his designs. Argyle was invited and escaped to Holland; lord Cardross returned from America to join the prince. Drumlanrig, the duke of Queensberry's son, introduced his countrymen into the confederacy in England, and the earls of Anandale, Glencairn, Crawford, Dundonald, Tarras, lords Ross and Bargenny, and many gentlemen of the first rank, were engaged in Scotland. No sooner had the army passed the borders, than they resorted from all parts of the country to Edinburgh; and the privy council, whose authority sunk in proportion to its former violence, was forced to connive at their secret cabals. The Cameronians were dispersed in small parties along the borders; and as few dispatches escaped their vigilance, the privy council was deprived of all intelligence or instructions from court. When the arrival of the prince of Orange was discovered, their perplexity was increased by

³² Skinner, ii. 514.

the most contradictory reports. His declaration for Scotland was received with avidity, and proclaimed at Irvine, Air, and Glasgow, while the authority of the privy council was almost dissolved. As their confidential messenger had carried their dispatches to the prince's camp, a committee was appointed to repair to court, but before its arrival there, the revolution was accomplished in both kingdoms³³.

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For a few days the prince of Orange was joined by none; but when the first example was given, the extent of the confederacy was announced by a rapid and universal defection from the king. The gentlemen of Somerset and Devonshire, hastened to the prince, who had advanced to Exeter, and entered eagerly into an association for his support. The earl of Bath admitted his fleet into Plymouth. The earl of Devonshire, and the gentlemen of Derby and Nottingham, declared for the prince and a free parliament. Lord Delamer took arms in Cheshire; and in the northern counties, lord Danby and his associates surprised Newcastle, York, and Hull. The same spirit of defection had extended to the army. Cornbury, the earl of Clarendon's son³⁴, was among the first to desert; but when a petition for a free parliament, signed by nineteen peers and prelates, was evaded, he was followed by Churchill, Kirk,

Progress of
the revolution
in
England.

³³ Balcarras' Mem.

³⁴ Oh God! says Clarendon in his diary, that my son should be a rebel! A few days afterwards he follows himself. Clar. Diary, 15 Nov.

Trelauny,

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II.
1688.

Trelauny, Drumlanrig, the dukes of Ormond and Grafton, prince George of Denmark, the king's son-in-law, while a greater number of inferior officers refused to fight against the prince of Orange. The king, who had arrived at Salisbury to give battle to the prince, was overwhelmed with misfortunes. All England appeared in commotion. The capital was full of discontent; the very fleet declared for a free parliament; and surrounded, as he believed, by a disaffected army, he knew not in whom to confide. He withdrew his army, and retired to London; but when informed of his daughter the princess Anne's escape, "God help me," cried the unhappy monarch, with tears of anguish, "my own children have deserted me." Every new disaster increased his perturbation. He summoned a council of peers; issued writs for a new parliament; dispatched commissioners to propose a treaty; but as the prince, amidst the acclamations of all ranks, continued to advance, he was bereft of all fortitude and strength of mind. His conduct was irresolute, pusillanimous, absurd; and unable to submit to necessity, yet incapable of a single effort of generous despair, he sunk, without dignity, beneath his misfortunes. He consulted only with his queen, affrighted at a parliamentary impeachment, and with his priests, who chose to exhibit their proselyte as an exile to Europe, rather than abandon him on a throne. His father's execution was still present to his desponding thoughts; and he listened credulously to every suggestion of personal danger, without reflecting
either

either on the difference of the characters or of the times. His terrors were flattered as the result of political wisdom, and he was easily persuaded that his departure would produce a scene of anarchy, to accelerate the recovery of absolute power. The queen and his son were conveyed secretly to France. His own departure was determined by the prince of Orange's demands, which, however imperious, were requisite for the settlement and security of the nation, and if accepted by James, might have still preserved his descendants on the throne. His hopes were absurdly placed on the public confusion, to increase which, he recalled and burnt the writs for a new parliament; directed Feversham to disband the army; threw the great seal into the Thames; and with a single attendant, embarked in a small vessel at midnight for France. When his flight was discovered next day, an event beyond the expectation of his enemies, completed the consternation and despair of his friends. The populace began to plunder the chapels and houses of papists; but their excesses were soon restrained by the peers and prelates residing in London, who assembled in council to resume the government, and invited the prince of Orange to provide for the safety of the state. When the king was intercepted at Feversham, and conducted back to Whitehall, the returning affections of the city might have convinced him that the nation was not yet lost. In this delicate extremity he attempted to resume his authority by an indiscreet pro-

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1688.

James de-
serts the
kingdom.
Dec. 23.Revolution
in Scotland.

clamoration against the late excesses³⁵; but was required at midnight to remove from the palace, and permitted to return to Rochester, with an obvious design to connive at his escape. He was convinced himself that his departure would prove acceptable to the prince; and the few friends who adhered in adversity to his fortunes, urged him to remain. But the despair of life returned. An expression of his father's was remembered; that short is the distance between the prison and the grave of kings; and by the desertion of his kingdom, which he was destined never to revisit, he left his rival an unbloody victory, and a vacant throne³⁶.

The revolution was accomplished in Scotland with the same ease and success. Athol, lord privy seal and president of the council, was married to the earl of Derby's daughter, allied to the house of Orange by her mother, a descendant of the family of Tremouille in France; and his personal animosity to Perth the chancellor, instigated by lord Tarbet and sir John Dalrymple, contributed to strengthen his connection with the prince. When the desertion and retreat of the king's forces were reported, Tarbet artfully proposed in council to disband the militia as neither necessary nor legal to be kept embodied in peace; and the weak and timid chancellor consented, fearful of offence, and unconscious of their designs. But the forces were no sooner reduced to a few troops for the collection

³⁵ Echard. Ralph.³⁶ Macpherson's Orig. Pap. i. 160.
of

of the revenue, than Athol and his friends represented that it was unsafe to sit longer in council with the chancellor and other papists, incapacitated by law. Destitute of military support, the chancellor was easily intimidated, or persuaded by his friends to abandon a city, where the populace had already risen and proclaimed a reward for his head³⁷. When the king's forces were partly disbanded, a panic terror had spread through England in a single night, that the Irish soldiers had begun an indiscriminate massacre of protestants; and as the beacons, drums, and bells, communicated the imaginary approach of danger, the people fancied that they heard the distant groans of the dying, and beheld the smoke of the distant villages consumed with flames. From the same reports diffused through Scotland, it appears that a political alarm was widely propagated, to unite and exasperate the protestants against the state. While the drums beat to arms, and the inhabitants issued, in consternation, from their houses, a report was spread that the papists had entered Edinburgh, which would be burnt that night. The people rushed to the palace, but were repulsed, and numbers were killed and wounded, by the fire of a company of soldiers, whom the chancellor left for its defence. The principal citizens, and the leading presbyterians who had repaired to town, joined the populace whom they had incited to the attack. A warrant was procured from Athol and his friends, intimated by heralds, for the surrender

³⁷ Balcarras's Mem.

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1688.

Clergy expelled.

of the palace; and with the assistance of the trainbands, they broke in and overpowered the military, some of whom were massacred by the popular rage and revenge. The printing-house, the library, chapel, and schools of the Jesuits, were demolished or burnt. The abbey church, furnished for the new order of the thistle, was defaced; its ornaments and images were consigned to the flames; and the chancellor's lodgings were plundered by the populace, who continued for some days to search or pillage the houses of papists³⁸. A similar report was productive of the same disorders in the west. On a sudden rumour, universally credited, that the Irish had landed, and after burning Kircudbright, advanced to Hamilton, six thousand presbyterians appeared in arms. Disappointed of a foreign enemy, they dispersed in small parties, to disarm and dislodge their domestic foes. On Christmas day, the episcopal clergy were assailed and dragged from their pulpits or altars; conducted through their parishes in mock procession; stripped of their gowns, and expelled by force, or permitted peaceably to depart, on a solemn assurance never to return. Two hundred clergymen of the episcopal persuasion, were thus ejected; and as the same violence prevailed for some weeks through the west of Scotland, the revolution was almost equally complete in the church and in the state³⁹.

³⁸ Balcarras's Mem. Woodrow, ii. 649. Hist. Revol. in Scotland, p. 24.

³⁹ Acts of the United Societies in the West; Woodrow's MSS. Skinner, ii. 517. Somers's Tracts, vi. 133.

The

The conduct of the presbyterians was strictly regulated by the expulsion of their own clergy, after the restoration. But when we survey the persecutions which they endured, and the blood with which the episcopal church was cemented, instead of blaming their severity, we are rather surprised and pleased that those fierce Cameronians, stigmatized and pursued by the late government as assassins, abstained from a massacre of the established clergy.

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When the presbyterians obtained possession of the capital, the administration devolved on the marquis of Athol and his friends. The duke of Gordon, with a mutinous garrison, retained the castle for James. But the declaration of the prince of Orange was universally received; and Perth, intercepted in embarking for France, was committed close prisoner to Stirling castle. An acknowledgment and offer of service to the prince, for the deliverance of the nation, was proposed in council; but from the opposition of the episcopal party, a short and general address was the utmost that could be obtained. But a confluence of all ranks and of every persuasion, resorted to London; the nobility, to demonstrate their respect for the prince, or to receive secret instructions from the late king; the presbyterians, to embrace and consult their friends, who had returned from exile, on the measures necessary to be concerted for their success; the episcopal party, to prevent the ruin of their church, and preserve some share of their invidious power. They were followed by Athol: and the prelates and subordinate officers of
state,

Resort of all
parties to
London.

B O O K state, who remained in council, acquired the ad-
 IX ministrations, if on the dissolution of government
 1689. it can deserve that name⁴⁰.

Their ad-
 dress to the
 prince.

At the request of the peers, and such of the commons as sat in parliament under Charles II. the prince had summoned a convention in England; and assumed the intermediate direction of affairs. Whatever form of government the convention might establish, little stability could be expected unless the same, or a similar government were adopted in Scotland; the situation of which, at the present conjuncture, was peculiarly important. The adherents of James were numerous. If his authority were still recognized in Scotland, the vicinity and opposition of a warlike nation would impede or endanger the new settlement; and his presence there might invite the English to return to their recent allegiance to the Stewarts. But in this perplexing situation, it reflects the purest lustre on William, that he resorted to no expedient except the free choice and consent of the people. He assembled the nobility and gentry attending in London, and representing concisely the object of his expedition, requested their advice on the most proper expedient to restore and secure their liberties, religion, and laws. The duke of Hamilton was elected president; a boisterous, yet temporizing statesman, who had maintained an open, or, more frequently, a secret opposition during the preceding reigns; and

⁴⁰ Balcanquhall's Mem. Hist. Revol.

according

according to the policy ascribed to the Scottish nobility, his son, lord Arran, accompanied James in his barge to Rochester, while the father attended the prince at St. James's. From the disorders and mutinous situation of Scotland, he intimated that the government should be lodged with the prince, till a convention were assembled; but an unexpected motion was made by Arran, to invite the king to return and call a parliament, as the best expedient to secure their liberties and the protestant faith. Many of the king's adherents were present; Balcarras, treasurer, Claverhouse, whom he had created viscount Dundee; but the motion, reprobated as derogatory to the prince's honour, was supported by none. An address was signed and presented by thirty noblemen and eighty gentlemen, requesting the prince of Orange to assume the government, and summon a convention of estates; and the irregular application of a few noblemen and gentlemen beyond the realm, was justified by the unreserved obedience with which his authority was received⁴¹. The convention of estates was appointed to meet, at their request, on the fourteenth of March, that the settlement of England might be first completed; and the convention of that kingdom declared that James had abdicated the government, and proceeded to place the prince and princess of Orange, as joint sovereigns, on the vacant throne.

In England the revolution was accomplished by a coalition of whig and tory; but in Scotland,

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Convention
of estates.

⁴¹ Balcarras's Mem. Hist. Revol. 40. Balcarras's State Tracts.

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where the same distinctions prevailed under different names, the episcopal party, deprived of their former despotical power, persevered in their attachment to the exiled king. Whether to attend or decline an illegal convention, which it was their interest to embarrass, perplexed and divided their measures, till secret instructions were received from James to secure an ascendancy in the convention of estates. Had the convention been returned like the late parliament, or chosen as the boroughs were since modelled, their influence must have predominated in every election, and the presbyterians, even in counties, would have been excluded by the test. But Dalrymple, the late president, had artfully provided in the address to William, that none but papists should be excluded from their legal vote, and that the election should be conducted in boroughs by a poll of freemen, from which it is to be regretted that they have since departed. The elections were transferred to the presbyterians, whose active zeal was supported by the people; but their adversaries relied on a majority of the nobility and the whole bishops; the castle of Edinburgh remained in their hands, to dislodge the convention; and the viscount Dundee introduced into the town a troop of three-score horse, who had deserted and returned from his regiment in England. The Cameronians were summoned to town to counteract these designs; and the convention assumed the threatening aspect of a Polish diet ⁴².

⁴² Balcarras. General Mackay's Memoirs, MS. Adv. Lib.

The choice of a president was the first question decisive of their strength. The duke of Hamilton was supported by the presbyterians, the marquis of Athol by the episcopal party, with whom, disappointed in his expectations from William, he had renewed his intrigues. Parties were so nearly balanced, that the former was chosen by a majority of fifteen ⁴³; but the success was decisive, and on the next question the whigs acquired an accession of twenty votes. A committee for disputed elections was appointed, to increase the majority by their partial reports; but the demand of the bishops to name a proportion of the committee from the spiritual, as a distinct estate from the temporal peers, was disregarded without a vote; a sure preface of their approaching downfall. The security of the convention was next consulted. The duke of Gordon, who consented, but, by the influence of Dundee and Balcarras, declined next day to resign the castle, was proclaimed a traitor to the estates. His refusal to fire on the city, disappointed every plan to disperse the convention. A pretext was therefore sought to withdraw to Stirling, and to hold a separate convention, by a commission from James. On the report of a design to assassinate Dundee and sir George Mackenzie ⁴⁴, the removal of all strangers from town was

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Presbyterians prevail.

⁴³ Minutes of Convention, MS. Ibid.

⁴⁴ Historians have supposed that Dundee was seriously afraid of assassination, and that the parliament refused to listen to the evidence which he offered. But it appears that his only witness was examined, who declared that two men had threatened, in his

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March 18.
Dundee
retires to
Stirling.

was required; and the refusal of this demand, before the castle had surrendered, was the signal to retire. But the fears of the marquis of Athol recurred, while Dundee, indignant at his friends and enemies, was impatient of delay. He issued with his horse from the city, and, on a signal from the castle, halted to confer with the duke at the foot of the walls. The spectators were mistaken for his adherents, and when reported to the convention that his numbers were still increasing, the result apprehended from this remarkable interview, was, that the castle would begin to fire during an attack upon the town. But the president exclaimed, that there was danger also within the convention: the doors were secured, and the keys produced on the table; and while the drums beat to arms, the Cameronians emerged from the caverns and cellars, where they had lain concealed. The episcopal party enclosed in the convention, and surrounded without by enemies, were apprehensive of a massacre, till the tumult subsided; and when released on Dundee's departure for Stirling, they yielded to the terrors which their adversaries sought to inspire. The marquis of Athol was intimidated; the earl of Mar was arrested on the road; and the

his house, to use Dundee and Mackenzie as they had been used themselves. (Minutes of Convention, MS.) As the men were not named, and Mackenzie continued to attend the convention, it is obvious that Dundee affected an alarm. "That he went wherever the spirit of Montrose should direct him," is a modern fiction, exceeded only by another, that his heroism was caught from the recitation of Ossian's Poems & Dalrymple's Memoirs, ii. 305. and Parl. ii. 73.

rest,

rest, disappointed of a refuge in his fortress, abandoned all thoughts of a convention at Stirling⁴⁵.

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Next day the militia was ordained to be levied and placed in secure hands. A regiment of eight hundred Cameronians was raised within two hours; three hundred highlanders were armed by Argyle, who had assumed his seat before the attainder of his family was repealed. The convention was at length secured by the arrival of three regiments of Scots, in the Dutch service, who had attended William to England, under the command of Mackay⁴⁶. The superior policy of the presbyterians in these transactions, is no less conspicuous than the misconduct of their opponents, whose measures, at all times violent, betrayed the despair and folly of a disheartened faction, deprived of power. The fire of the castle could neither expel the convention from town⁴⁷, nor a separate convention at Stirling interrupt its debates. But the presence of a numerous opposition would embarrass its proceedings; and a forcible appeal to the dormant loyalty and passions of men, might obstruct the settlement of the crown in a different line. It was the policy of the presbyterians to procure unanimity, and prevent an immediate recourse to arms, which the imprisonment or

Adherents
of James
abandon
the conven-
tion.

⁴⁵ Balcarras. Minutes of Convention, MS.

⁴⁶ Id. Mackay's Memoirs, MS.

⁴⁷ See in Robertson's Hist. a parliament held by Lennox in the Canongate, notwithstanding Kirkcaldy's endeavours from the castle to dislodge the members, ii. 29.

expulsion

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expulsion of their adversaries could not fail to produce. But the terror and threats of imprisonment were more efficacious; and when the convention adjourned, after Dundee's retreat, some returned to their homes in despair, others deserted to the prevailing party; and when summoned next day to attend their duty, few remained to incur the obloquy and danger of an unavailing opposition.

Proceedings
of the con-
vention,

When relieved from opposition, the measures of the convention were vigorous, and almost unanimous. Two letters had been presented, from William and from James; but the first was preferred. Before the other was permitted to be read, a resolution was adopted, and signed even by the adherents of James, that nothing contained therein should annul or impede the declarations of the estates. But the arrogance and bigotry of the letter was so unsuitable to his situation; the name of Melfort, with which it was countersigned, appeared so odious to the convention, that his friends had forborne to propose an answer, and his messenger was dismissed from prison with silent contempt.

March 19

The convention returned a grateful answer to William, acknowledging their deliverance, and approving the address on which he assumed the temporary administration of the state.

But the presbyterians wisely evaded his proposal of an union with England, as a complicated measure productive of dangerous animosities, which might

March 27.

disappoint their hopes of an ecclesiastical establishment; and the convention proceeded to a plan, prepared

prepared by a committee, for the settlement of the crown ⁴⁸. BOOK IX.

The deliberations had degenerated in the English convention into verbal disputes between the two houses, whether the late king had deserted or abdicated the vacant throne. In Scotland there was neither the same necessity to gratify the tories, nor the same propriety in declaring that the king had abdicated the government, by the desertion of a country wherein he did not reside. But the opposite genius of the two nations was never more conspicuous than in the result of their deliberations on that important event. From the close of the fourteenth century, when the Plantagenets were dethroned, England had never beheld, during the various dynasties of Lancaster, York, Tudor, and Stewart, above three generations of the same family succeeding, without interruption, to the throne. But a nation averse to innovation, was still tenacious of hereditary right. The convention, to deviate the least from an order of succession so frequently inverted, declared that James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution, by breaking the original contract between the king and people, and having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn from the kingdom, had *abdicated* the government, and that the throne was thereby vacant. A voluntary desertion and a virtual renunciation, both of the government and the realm, were meant to be implied.

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Contrasted
with those
of the Eng-
lish con-
vention.

⁴⁸ Balcarras.

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in this ambiguous expression, in order to open the succession to the next protestant heir. But the abdication of government was irreconcilable with the premises, as it was neither applicable to his abuse of power, nor to his departure from the kingdom, which was certainly more from constraint than choice. The Scots had acknowledged eleven successive generations of the house of Stewart; and their loyalty was cherished by the belief of a long and fabulous race of an hundred and eleven kings. Instead of attempting, however, by an ambiguous fiction, to reconcile hereditary right with a change in the succession, they placed the vacancy of the throne on its true basis, the religion and mal-administration of James. The same oppression which the English had apprehended while yet distant, they had long endured. Their loyal attachment to the Stewarts, which survived the civil wars, had been effaced by their sufferings since the restoration. From the same national ardor which rendered the reformation so complete, or destructive in Scotland, they proposed a bold and decisive vote, that James had forfeited the crown by his misconduct and crimes. A feeble opposition was maintained by his few friends who remained in the convention. Paterfon, archbishop of Glasgow, and sir George Mackenzie, asserted the exploded doctrine of divine right, or maintained with more plausibility, that every illegal measure of his government was vindicated by the declaration of the late parliament, that he was an absolute monarch, entitled to unreserved obedience and

and accountable to none. Sir James Montgomery, and fir John Dalrymple, who conducted the debate on the opposite side, averred that the parliament was neither competent to grant, nor the king to acquire, an absolute power, irreconcilable with the reciprocal obligations due to the people⁴⁹. The illegal measures of the reign were reduced to fifteen articles, on the recapitulation of which the estates declared “that James VII. being a professed papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as king, without ever taking the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and altered it from a legal, limited monarchy to an arbitrary, despotic power; and hath exerted the same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and the violation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom; whereby he hath *forfaulted* his right to the crown, and the throne has become vacant.” According to the legal import of the vote, the whole issue of James was excluded from the crown; but the forfeiture, as explained by a subsequent resolution, was limited to the persons and the future children of the late king, and his pretended son⁵⁰.

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1689.

Forfeiture
of the
crown.

When the throne was declared vacant, the convention resolved that the crown should be

Settlement
of the
crown,

⁴⁹ Balcarras. Life of William, iii. 51. Vindication of the Convention. State Tracts, temp. Gul.

⁵⁰ Minutes of Convention, MS.

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1689.
And de-
claration
of rights.

tendered to William and Mary, as joint sovereigns; and on the failure of their issue, settled on the princess Anne and her heirs. But the fifteen articles of misconduct in James, were first digested into an instrument of government, and a declaration and claim of rights. More comprehensive than the English declaration, as it extended almost to every abuse of the two preceding reigns, it asserted that no papist, according to the laws of the kingdom, could ascend the throne; that all proclamations assuming an absolute power to suspend or dispense with the laws, were illegal; that the measures employed to establish popery, that the imposing of bonds or oaths, and exacting money without authority of parliament, were contrary to law; that it was illegal to invest the officers of the army with judicial powers; to inflict death without trial, jury, or record; to exact exorbitant fines or bail; to imprison without expressing the reason, or to delay the trial; to forfeit persons upon stretches of old and obsolete laws, upon frivolous pretexts or defective proofs, especially the late earl of Argyle to the reproach of justice; to nominate the magistrates and common council of boroughs; to dictate the proceedings of courts of justice; to employ torture without evidence in ordinary crimes, or to oblige the subjects to accuse or to swear against themselves; to garrison private houses, and to introduce an hostile army into the country, to live at free quarters in profound peace. The two memorable opinions of the fifteen judges were declared illegal; that it was treason to con-
ceal

ceal the demand of money for traitors, and that whoever refused to discover their private sentiments respecting the treasonable doctrines or actions of others, were guilty of treason. Prelacy and precedence in ecclesiastical office, as repugnant, ever since the reformation, to the genius of a nation reformed by presbyters, were declared an insupportable grievance which ought to be abolished. The rights of appeal to parliament, and of petition to the throne, were unconditionally asserted; frequent parliaments were demanded, and these articles the estates asserted and challenged as their undoubted rights, against which no declaration nor precedent should operate to the prejudice of the people; but whatever forfeitures or punishments were otherwise inflicted, should be revised and redressed. A separate list of grievances was framed, to be redressed in parliament; the most remarkable of which were the committee of articles, the act of supremacy, the manner and measure of the popular representation; and in the removal of every injury which the constitution had sustained, the Scots were apparently desirous that nothing should be left unadjusted between the people and the king.

The new sovereigns were crowned in London, and proclaimed in Scotland on the same day. Argyle, Montgomery, and sir John Dalrymple, were deputed from the three temporal estates to present the crown, and administer the oath to the king and queen. The instrument of government and the grievances were first read; to which

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New sovereigns
proclaimed.

April 11.

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1689.
May 11.

an address, to turn the convention into a parliament, was subjoined. When the coronation oath was administered to William, at the obligation to root out heretics, he paused and declared that he did not mean to become a persecutor; and, on the assurance of the commissioners that such was not its import, protested that in that sense only he received the oath⁵¹. The insidious toleration attempted by James had excited universal disgust; but the unaffected scruples of William were honoured and approved.

Exclusion
of the
Stewarts
necessary.

Thus the hereditary reign of the Stewarts, in the male line, was concluded eighty-six years after their departure from Scotland. Their accession to the English crown was the era of their grandeur; an event that contributed neither to their felicity, nor perhaps to the improvement of their native, hereditary kingdom. The contracted abilities of James VI. were better adapted to the government of a small state, than of divided kingdoms; but the prospect of his elevation to the throne of England, inspired a weak mind with ideas of absolute power unknown to his ancestors, to which we must primarily attribute the execution of his son, the expulsion of his grandson, and the exclusion of his male posterity for ever from the crown. Had his reign been confined to Scotland, the presence of the sovereign, and the natural progress of society, were sufficient perhaps to introduce subordination and the arts of peace; nor with a limited authority would he have ventured, so fatally for his

⁵¹ Life of William. Hist. Rev. in Scotland.

posterity,

posterity, to invade the established religion and liberties of the nation. If the Stewarts had continued to reign in Scotland alone, the attachment of the nation to an ancient family, without a rival, and without a competitor, might have still preserved their descendants on the throne. But the loyalty of the nation was diminished by their absence. The immense influence acquired at the accession, was employed to crush the independence of the estates; and although they recovered and enlarged their authority during the civil wars, a jealous and cruel tyranny was introduced at the restoration; aggravated by all the vexatious insolence of delegated power. To England the revolution was a glorious event, useful rather than absolutely necessary; for if the late king had remained, its religion and liberties, under a regency, might have been secured by proper limitations on the throne. The loyalty of the English was gratified, while the adherents of James were insensibly mollified, by the accession of his daughters, and the nation was gradually reconciled and prepared to adopt a more complete change in the line of succession; but to this circumstance must be ascribed the apparent defects in its declaration of rights, which neither asserts the choice that was actually made of a new race, nor secures the frequency and independence of parliament against the influence of the crown. But the revolution was absolutely necessary to restore tranquillity to Scotland, and to revive the confidence of the people in government; without which the king unavoidably degenerates into a tyrant,

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and his subjects vibrate alternately between rebels and slaves. So various and enormous was the tyranny which I have attempted, imperfectly, to delineate, that the people never could have dismissed their suspicion and resentment, nor the government the terrors which it felt, and sought to inspire; the uniform principle of despotism, for which we may truly affirm that there was no cure but the expulsion of the Stewarts.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK X.

*Convention turned into a Parliament.—Insurrection.
—Dundee's Victory and Death. — Montgomery's
Plots.—Redress of grievances, and Presbytery
restored.—Massacre of Glencoe.—Settlement of
Darien.—National distress and despair.—Death
of James.—Death and character of William.*

IT was difficult, in the choice of an administration, to gratify the unreasonable expectations of claimants, and to provide for the security of the new reign. The episcopal party had few pretensions: from their refusal of the baths to government, they soon acquired the appellation of nonjurors; and of Jacobites, from their stedfast attachment to James. The presbyterians who began the revolution, assumed superior merit with the king; but the exiles who returned from Holland, enjoyed a larger

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X.

1689.
New administration.

larger share of his confidence and esteem. Lord Melville, with inferior talents, was appointed sole secretary, in preference to Montgomery, whose mind was estranged from the new government by disgust and neglect. The duke of Hamilton was appointed high commissioner, the earl of Crawford president of parliament; but as the chief offices of state, the treasury and the seals, were reserved to be put in commission, the former was disappointed of the distribution of places among his children and friends. By a choice less fortunate, as it was productive of general discontent, Dalrymple created viscount Stair, was restored to the presidency of the court of session, on the assassination of Lockhart, by one who conceived himself injured by an unjust award. Sir John Dalrymple, his son, was appointed king's advocate; they were both presbyterians, yet unacceptable and odious to that party from their compliance with the times. Their abilities were confessedly great and transcendent; but the father had abetted the iniquitous administration of Lauderdale; the son, as king's advocate in the late reign, had revived the persecutions for the insurrection at Bothwell, and from the unguarded confidence placed in their characters, which were by no means pure, their advice was suspected of creating a separation of interests between the people and the king. But the confidence of William was soon transferred to Carstairs, his chaplain, who studied, like the earl of Nottingham in England, to prepossess his master against the surrender of a single branch of his prerogative,

rogative, as the more dangerous, and necessary to be resisted, where he was raised by popular consent to the throne'.

B O O K
X.

1689.

Convention
turned into
a parlia-
ment.

June 5.

In the transactions of civil society, the example of Cortes, when he resigned his commission from Velasquez to a council of his own appointment, from whom he received another in the name of his sovereign, has been frequently transcribed. By the royal assent to an act of convention, the estates who declared William king, were inversely converted into a parliament by the same powers which they had previously conferred. Necessity was supposed, in each kingdom, to supersede the vain consideration of forms. While the nation was threatened with an invasion by James, who had landed in Ireland, and with a civil war by Dundee, who retired to the highlands, the convention could neither be safely dissolved, nor another parliament freely elected. But it is observable, that representatives are ever more desirous to perpetuate their authority than to return to their constituents; and when the convention was once converted into a parliament, its authority was prolonged during the whole reign.

When the redress of grievances was taken into consideration, a sudden opposition was created between the parliament and the king. The latter, though not averse to the regulation of the lords of articles, proposed that they should be freely

Opposition.

* Balcarras, 64. Burnet, iv. 34. Fount. Dec. Carstairs' State Papers, p. 42.

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electd and monthly renewed by their respective estates; agreed that whatever motions they rejected might be revived in parliament; but required that the officers of state should be conjoined to facilitate business, or to preserve some share of a negative before debate. But the parliament, jealous of their influence or encroachments, was inflexible in demanding their removal from the articles. Their introduction into that committee was originally an usurpation, no less than the official seats which they had acquired in parliament; and the loudest resentment was excited at the king's refusal, or reluctance, to redress entirely the first grievance of which the nation complained².

William, indifferent to forms of worship if toleration were established, would have concurred in preserving prelacy, if the episcopal party had contributed to his support³. But as presbytery was the condition on which he was admitted to the throne, an act was passed to abolish prelacy and pre-eminence in ecclesiastical office. His commissioner was instructed to repeal the extensive supremacy which Charles had acquired⁴, but he scrupled to abrogate the rights of patronage, which he considered as the only expedient to in-

² State Tracts, Temp. Gul. iii. 466. Burnet, iv. 35. Hist. of the Rev. 150. Minutes of Parlt. MS.

³ Keith's Cat. of Scottish Bishops, 43. Burnet, iv. 33.

⁴ See his instructions, State Tracts, iii. 460. "to establish that form of ecclesiastical government most agreeable to the people." As the parliament was prorogued before the acts were passed, Montgomery represented, in the Address and Vindication, that they were refused by William.

fuse a mild or more tolerant spirit into the presbyterian church. The parliament persisted in the repeal of patronage; and although episcopacy was abolished, presbyterian government, from their mutual opposition, remained unestablished.

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From the same desire to restrain intolerance, he refused his assent to an act for the incapacitation of such as opposed the revolution, or concurred in the illegal measures of the two preceding reigns. Proscription from office, if ever justifiable, was justified by the recent government of Scotland. But the king adopted a generous and wise resolution, to exclude no party from his service, or the hopes of preferment, and to reduce no description of men to despair.

The nomination of the whole judges was challenged, to exclude Stair the president, from the court of session. It was admitted that a single vacancy might be supplied by prerogative; but affirmed that the court, on a total vacancy produced by the revolution, must be renewed, as at first created, by the authority of parliament, and that the choice of a president belonged to the judges themselves. An act was introduced, as in the reign of Charles I. that the judges named by the crown should be examined, approved, or rejected by the estates; but as the demand exceeded the commissioner's instructions, the parliament was adjourned, amidst such a general ferment, that the judges assumed their seats under the protection of the troops^s.

Aug. 2.

^s Hist. Revol. 168—86. Address and Vindication of the Scottish Parliament. State Tracts, Temp. Gul. vol. iii. Lord Stair's Vindication. Burnet, iv. 105. Ralph, ii. 105.

While

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Character
and ex-
ploits of
Dundee.

While the parliament was thus agitated by the presbyterians, a civil war was excited, and in the moment of victory, almost extinguished in the north. With a new name it is not unfrequent to acquire a new and more honourable character in society; and the cruelties of Graham of Claverhouse are forgotten in the last splendid exploits of the viscount Dundee. The same ardent and inflexible spirit that rendered him barbarous and inexorable towards the covenanters, was adapted to the most daring and extensive designs. As an officer, he was able, intrepid, and experienced; of a sound and cultivated understanding; endued with many personal virtues; parsimonious and severe by nature; generous and indulgent from policy; well acquainted with the dispositions and temper of others, and possessed of an entire command over his own⁶. Ambitious to equal the renown as well as the cruelty of Montrose, to whom he was related, he delighted in those vigorous and enterprising councils, in the execution of which he was best qualified to excel. When James had withdrawn to Rochester, he concurred with a few friends to dissuade his departure, undertook to collect ten thousand of his disbanded soldiers, offered to march through England with his standard at their head, and to drive the Dutch forces with their prince before him⁷. Had he been entrusted, instead of Feverham, with the command of the army, little doubt

⁶ Balcarras' Mem.

⁷ Macpherson's Orig. Papers, i. 299.

can be entertained that if he failed to fulfil those magnificent promises, the revolution at least would never have been accomplished without immense bloodshed. When he retired from the convention, the fears and expectations of each party were fixed on his designs. His intentions were discovered by intercepted letters from Melfort, who promised speedy assistance from Ireland; proposed to support the war from the forfeiture of those lords, whom they had marked for destruction, and threatened literally to reduce their enemies to hewers of wood and drawers of water. The letters, published in both kingdoms, announced the cruelties to be expected on the return of James⁸. Balcarras and his friends were secured; but Dundee retired into the highlands from Mackay's pursuit, with an intention to summon the clans to arms.

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At Inverness he found the Macdonalds of Keppoch, who had availed themselves of the disorders of the times to invest the town. On his obligation for its ransom, they engaged in his service, but returned to secure their plunder in Lochaber, where he summoned a general rendezvous of the clans. Descending in the meanwhile, with his horse, to Perth, he surprised some troops, and levied contributions to the very gates of Dundee. It was not difficult, on his return, to excite the highlanders to arms, whose warlike

Begins a
civil war.

⁸ The authenticity of these letters, though denied by the Jacobites, is admitted by Balcarras. They correspond with Melfort's letter, found on Dundee's body after his death.

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genius was stimulated by the memory of their achievements under Montrose; and the apprehension that Argyle would be soon restored to his jurisdictions and estate. The Macleans and Macdonalds had suffered as the vassals or enemies of that powerful family; the Camerons had obtained large grants of its possessions; and as the highlanders were peculiarly favoured by James, a general confederacy was formed among the clans.⁹ Seventeen hundred men were assembled by Dundee, armed with their paternal swords, but unprovided with artillery, ammunition, provisions, or pay. By interposing between Mackay and a reinforcement which Ramsay conducted through Badenoch, he obliged the latter to retreat to Perth, and on the surrender of Ruthven castle, pursued the former along the course of the Spey. The fidelity of the Scottish dragoons was seduced; a regiment originally raised for the service of James. Their treachery was timely discovered, and Mackay, returning with reinforcements, endeavoured in vain to outstrip the speed of the highlanders on their native hills. But the highlanders, loaded with plunder, deserted in such numbers, that Dundee retired into the wilds of Lochaber, and dismissed his army till the expected succours from Ireland arrived. In this situation, the mortifying intelligence of the surrender of Edinburgh castle, would have overwhelmed a mind less vigorous than his own with despair¹⁰.

June 13.

⁹ Mackay's Mem. 210—38. MS. Adv. Lib.

¹⁰ Dundee's Mem. Macpherson's Orig. Papers, i. 355—66. Balcarras, 60.

On the arrival of three hundred recruits from Ireland, he summoned the highlanders again to arms. The castle of Blair was defended against lord Murray, by one of his father's, the marquis of Athol's vassals, whom Dundee hastened to relieve, and Mackay to reduce. The place was equally important, to restrain Dundee to the remote highlands, or to secure his access to Athol, Perth, and Angus, where his party were numerous; but on his approach to Blair, the Atholmen, with a loyalty unexampled among the highlanders, deserted their chieftain, and filling their bonnets with water to king James's health, abandoned the pass of Killycranky, which they were employed to guard". When importuned by his officers to pre-occupy and defend the pass, he convinced them that if Mackay were permitted to enter, and attacked before the arrival of his cavalry, a fairer opportunity for victory would never be obtained. Mackay, an officer equally brave and pious, but diffident, averse to bloodshed, and better fitted to execute than command, had advanced with three thousand foot and two troops of horse, from Dunkeld. On emerging from the defile, he discovered the enemy advancing from Blair, and arranged his troops as they arrived, along a narrow field, where there was not room sufficient to form a reserve. Dundee, whose forces exceeded two

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1689.
Encounters
Mackay.

" Dalrymple ascribes this revolt to lord Lovat's management, on the authority of his manuscript Memoirs. His Memoirs have since been published, but they contain no allusion whatever to the fact.

thousand

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thousand five hundred men, arranged them on an opposite eminence, according to their clans, with the hills behind to secure a retreat. For some hours they continued to regard each other, exchanging some distant shots, while the commanders omitted nothing to encourage their respective troops. Dundee recommended to their valour, the defence of their country, their religion, their king. Mackay represented the justice of the protestant cause, and the impossibility of a retreat through a long and narrow pass, overlooked by mountains overgrown with wood, and overhanging a steep precipice, with a river beneath ¹².

Battle of
Killy-
cranky.
June 17.

Within an hour of sunset the signal was given by Dundee, and the highlanders descended in thick and separate columns to the attack. They suffered considerably from the enemy's fire, but till within a few paces, reserved their own. After a single, desultory discharge, they rushed forward with the sword, before the regulars, whose bayonets were then inserted within the musket, could be prepared to receive or resist their furious attack. The weight of their columns pierced the thin and straggling line where Mackay commanded. Their ponderous swords completed the rout; and within a few minutes, the victors and the vanquished, intermixed in the field, in the pursuit, and in the river, disappeared from view. Mackay alone, when deserted by his horse and surrounded, forced his way to the right wing, where two regiments

¹² Mackay's Memoirs, MS 306-12-28. Burnet, iv. 38. Macpherson's Orig. Papers, i. 369-72.

maintained

maintained their ground. While the enemy were intent on plundering the baggage, he conducted them in silence and obscurity, across the river beneath the defile, and continued his flight for two days through the mountains to Stirling, less afraid of the highlanders, oppressed with booty, than of Dundee's pursuit at the head of his horse¹³.

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But Dundee, whose pursuit he dreaded, was himself no more. After a desperate and successful charge on the artillery¹⁴, which he seized with his horse, he returned to restore the battle on the left, and to renew the attack against the two regiments that remained entire. At that moment, while his arm was extended to his troops, and his person conspicuous to the enemy, he received a shot in his side, through an opening in his armour, and dropt from horseback as he rode off the field. He survived to write a concise and dignified account of his victory to James. With the loss of nine hundred of his men, two thousand of the enemy were killed or taken; and but for his untimely fate,

Death and
victory of
Dundee.

¹³ Macpherson's Orig. Papers, i. 369—72. Balcarras. Mackay's Memoirs, 327—43. Dalrymple, on the authority of Mackay's manuscript, informs us that Mackay, on ascending the first eminence, and perceiving there was no pursuit, said to those around him, that he was sure the enemy had lost their general. Dalrymple's Memoirs, ii. 89. Mackay, who escaped in the dusk, expressly declares that he was apprehensive of Dundee's pursuit, whom he knew not to be killed. MS. Memoirs. Adv. Lib. p. 338.

¹⁴ Three pieces of light leathern artillery, probably preserved since the civil wars. Id. 326.

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not a man would have escaped. Had he survived to improve this distinguished victory, little doubt can be entertained that he would have recovered the whole of Scotland beyond the Forth. His party were prepared to take arms on the borders, and his progress southwards might have arrested William's attention and arms, till James was firmly established in Ireland. But his death was fatal to his party, and among the papers found on his body, a letter from Melfort, that the indemnity was couched in terms which might be broken or revoked by the king at pleasure, excited deep disgust at the insincerity of James¹⁵. A rude stone was erected on the spot, to mark to future times where he fell. His memory was long lamented by his party, and his name is still celebrated in their poetry, as the last of Scots¹⁶.

His army
dispersed.

On the first report of the defeat, while Dundee was daily expected to advance, the consternation was extreme. Government proposed to abandon the north, and confine its forces to the defence of the Forth. Such unworthy counsels were rejected by Mackay, who returned within a few days after his defeat, and by an opportune enterprise, surprised a detachment of the highlanders at Perth. The command of their army had devolved on Cannon, an Irish officer unacceptable to the clans; who knew not how to improve the victory which their valour

¹⁵ Macpherson's Orig. Pap. i. 370—2. Balcarras.

¹⁶ See Pitcairn's Epitaph on Dundee, which Dryden has not disdained to translate.

had

had obtained. With an army increased to four thousand men, he continued to coast along the Grampians, followed by Mackay; the one afraid to descend from the mountains, the other to quit, with his cavalry, the advantage of the open plains. Returning by a secret march to Dunkeld, he surrounded the regiment of Cameronians, whose destruction appeared so inevitable, that they were abandoned by a party of horse to their fate. But the Cameronians, notwithstanding the loss of Cleland their gallant commander, defended themselves amidst some slight enclosures against the whole army, with such desperate enthusiasm, that the highlanders, discouraged by the repulse, and incapable of persevering fortitude, dispersed and returned to their homes, nor resumed their arms till the succeeding year ¹⁷.

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August 21.

The sudden decline of a formidable insurrection gave no intermission to the violence of factious discontent. From the abrupt and frequent prorogations of parliament, the exiles who returned from Holland were apprehensive that there was no design to restore their forfeited estates. Even when episcopacy was utterly abolished, the presbyterians in general were impatient of delay, and from the refusal to redress entirely their grievances, suspicious of William's intentions to re-establish their church. Their discontent was fomented by the disappointed Montgomery's intrigues and revenge. Under the designation of the club or country

Montgomery's
plots.

¹⁷ Mackay's Mem. 319—64. Balcarras. Macpherson's Orig. Pap. i. 371.

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1689.

October 15.

party, a regular opposition was already formed against the court. Notwithstanding the recess of parliament, a majority of the members were persuaded to concur in a remonstrance, enumerating the grievances of which redress was denied; and upbraiding William, in terms of affected respect, with his choice of ministers from among their former oppressors. The proceedings of parliament were vindicated by Montgomery, and Ferguson the plotter, with the accustomed bitterness and asperity of Ferguson's pen¹⁸. The remonstrance was presented by Montgomery, Annandale, and Ross; but the leaders of the country party were received with such marked displeasure, the vindication was productive of such visible offence, that they despaired of regaining the confidence or favour of the king. Revolutions are ever productive of fresh conspiracies; and when the mind is once released from habitual obedience, not only the adherents of the old, but the disappointed candidates under the new government are impatient for a change. The advantages denied by the one, may be acquired from the other; and from the success of a great example, the perils of a conspiracy have become familiar to their minds. Before the new government has acquired stability and strength, they imagine that the old may be restored with the same facility, and by the same means, with which it was subverted. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the restless Montgomery was the first to conspire against the revolution which he

¹⁸ State Tracts. Tem. Gul. vol. iii.

had contributed to produce. Ferguson's motives were probably those of a secret republican, who had acquired an habitual delight in plots, and was actuated rather by an aversion to monarchy than an attachment to James. The earl of Annandale and lord Ross, who had also promoted the revolution, were persuaded by Montgomery that the honours and preferment from which they were excluded by the ingratitude of William, might be obtained by returning to the allegiance due to their lawful king. Their connexions with his partizans in England are imperfectly known; but their plots, as far as obscurely discovered, were visionary and absurd. Montgomery, a violent fanatic, proposed to establish presbytery, by persuading the parliament to declare for James; and for that purpose projected a coalition between the Jacobites and presbyterians, to disband the army by the refusal of supplies, and by resolving the parliament again into a convention, to restore their ancient government and king. A correspondence was opened with James; and concessions which cost him nothing, were easily obtained. He agreed to a general indemnity and settlement of the presbytery in its most rigid form; appointed Annandale commissioner to the present parliament, created Ross and Montgomery earls, and the latter secretary of state for Scotland¹⁹.

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1690.

Such fantastic plots might embarrass, but could never overturn a government. The Jacobites

And coalition with the Jacobites.

¹⁹ Balcarras, Annandale's Confession in Dalrymple's Memoirs, iii. 54.

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easily discerned that to recall the late king, in a parliamentary manner, without arms, was too extravagant to succeed. But if William were once constrained to disband the army by the refusal of supplies, and to dissolve the parliament from the extravagance of its demands, they considered justly that the kingdom might be easily recovered by an insurrection of the highlanders, aided by a timely descent from Ireland²⁰. Their whole party were invited and urged to return to their seats, and the disgraceful scene that succeeded, when the parliament was resumed, marks how forcibly the influence of faction may control the moral, and religious principles of the human mind. The oaths to government merely professed, as in England, to be faithful, and bear true allegiance to William and Mary, without an acknowledgment of their lawful title or right to the crown. To relieve the scruples of the conscientious, a distinction between a king *de facto* and *de jure* was thus humanely introduced; but there were few Jacobites who hesitated, by the grossest equivocation, to accept the oaths to the government which they meant to overturn, and to swear allegiance to William, whom they had conspired to dethrone. Their designs were carefully concealed from the presbyterians²¹, whom Montgomery persuaded that

²⁰ Balcarras, 85.

²¹ Id. Balcarras affirms, that among the presbyterians the plot was confined expressly to Annandale, Rofs, Montgomery, and Ogilvie, afterwards lord Seafeld. Some historians have imagined, and James himself believed, that Argyle and other presby-

that nothing more was intended than to strengthen their interest in parliament against Melville and Stair. But the most violent measures were proposed to render the presbyterians irreconcilable to William, from an assurance that he would never yield to their exorbitant demands.

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As the duke of Hamilton, whose son was deeply engaged in the plot, had been found untractable, lord Melville was appointed commissioner to parliament, which at first assumed a lowering and discontented aspect. Alarmed at the return and coalition of the disaffected members with the presbyterians, he solicited additional powers, and in one article ventured to exceed his instructions. When the act of supremacy was repealed, the presbyterians began to confide in his sincerity, and to distrust the intercourse of their leaders with the Jacobites, whom they deserted daily in almost every vote²². The few Jacobites who refused the oaths, had disappointed their party of a majority in parliament. On the return of a messenger from James, they discovered that all honours and emoluments under the future government were engrossed by their associates, whose wild and fantastic plots they abandoned in disgust. Nothing had been procured

Dissolved.

presbyterian lords were privy to the plot. Macpherson's Orig. Pap. i. 234. 399. Argyle was also suspected by William. Dalrymple, iii. 212. But he was active during the plot in securing Strahan, a messenger from James, and like the other presbyterians, engaged only in the opposition, and was probably ignorant of the plot itself. Hist. Rev. 212.

²² Annandale's Confession ; Dalrymple, iii. 57.

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for Arran but an indemnity to his father: no forces had been solicited from Ireland to suppress their enemies if the parliament were dissolved; and at that critical conjuncture, the opportune defeat of the highlanders extinguished any rational hopes of success. On the arrival of Buchan with officers and supplies from Ireland, they resumed their arms; but were surprised on descending into Strathmore, and dispersed by Livingston, and the present Fort William was built by Mackay, to restrain their incursions²².

And disclosed to government.

When deserted by both parties, the three original conspirators, conscious and mutually suspicious of perfidy, hastened to anticipate each other by the earliest discoveries of their own plots. Lord Ross gave the first intimation to the queen. From a latent principle of honour, he refused to become an evidence against his associates, and was committed to the tower. Montgomery, informed of his departure for court, disclosed the whole correspondence to Melville. Unwilling or unable to name his confederates in England, he despaired of a full pardon; and after some years spent in constant plots, expired in exile of vexation and grief. Ferguson, an experienced plotter, was too wary to be convicted, even when betrayed by Annandale, whom he had secreted in London; but Nevile Pain, employed as an agent from England, endured a double question with a constancy disgraceful to Annandale the informer; and from the public indignation which it excited, was the last man who

²² Balcarras, 89. 93.

suffered

suffered the torture in Scotland. But the humanity of William was desirous rather to prevent than to punish their designs; and there are few examples in history of a plot so extensive, detected and suppressed without a single execution ²⁴.

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1690.

As the hopes of the conspirators were placed on the refusal of every popular demand, the redress of grievances became the more necessary to dissipate the plot ²⁵. The right of parliament was acknowledged, to appoint committees at pleasure, of an equal number from each estate. The officers of state were admitted to sit and deliberate without a vote, and instead of the domineering articles, which were abolished forever, separate committees were appointed, for supplies, elections, forfeitures, and the government of the church. 1. Twenty-eight monthly assessments were granted, a land-tax of an hundred and sixty-eight thousand pounds, to be levied in five years. The sixth penny of interest was voted for a year, but converted afterwards into a tax on hearths, at a time when hearth-money was abolished in England at William's request. 2. When the grievance respecting the manner and measure of representation was considered, a salutary addition of twenty-six members was made to the counties, to counterbalance the recent increase of the peerage. 3. The iniquitous sentences of Jerviswood, Argyle, and others, were reversed according to the claim of rights, and their

Redress of
grievances.

²⁴ Balcarras, 89. 93. Burnet, iv. 91. Annandale's Confession; Dalrymple.

²⁵ Id. iii. 201.

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1690.

Presbytery
restored.

heirs restored to their honours and estates. Forfeitures and fines incurred since the insurrection at Pentland were repealed; by a single act, upwards of four hundred attainted persons were restored by name; and the numerous sufferers under the late reigns were ordained to be indemnified by such as had obtained lucrative gifts of their estates or fines. 4. When the act of supremacy was repealed, the presbyterian ministers ejected by the prelates, were restored to their livings, and with such as they had admitted, or might thereafter admit, were invested with the full and exclusive government of the national church. A general assembly was appointed, for the expulsion of those episcopal clergymen whose doctrines were erroneous, or their example scandalous. The Westminster confession of faith was confirmed, as the test and standard of orthodoxy and persecution; but the curse of excommunication was divested of every civil or penal effect. The severe and sanguinary laws against conventicles, the tests, and in general the oppressive acts of the preceding reigns, were repealed; but by an assurance to government, the distinction between a king *de jure* and *de facto* was abjured. The covenants were judiciously overlooked or forgotten; but as the rights of patronage were abrogated, the presbyterian form of government was established in its full extent ²⁶.

Abrogation
of patro-
nage.

The clergy ejected at the restoration, of whom not above three score survived, were inclined to moderation from experience and age. But the

²⁶ Minutes of Parl. MS.

ministers

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1690.

ministers whom they had admitted were violent, and often illiterate preachers, ordained in secret, during the persecuting triumph of prelacy, against which they were inspired with the most vindictive zeal²⁷. Neither the preservation of their order and authority, nor their sour and illiberal temper, exasperated by thirty years of persecution, nor their sudden sense of independence, after subsisting hitherto on the voluntary though precarious oblations of the faithful, permitted them to listen to the moderation recommended by William, or to retain such of the episcopal clergy as might submit to their discipline and confession of faith. In their presbyteries, and in the general assembly, they proceeded with the most indecent violence, and often on the most frivolous pretexts, to exclude the episcopal incumbents from the circumscribed and narrow pale of an orthodox church²⁸. From their indiscreet and intolerant bigotry, the king began to repent of his concessions. Such was the peculiar infelicity of his reign, that every concession to the presbyterians alarmed and awakened the jealous clamours of the English church; every concession in Scotland to the episcopal dissenters, offended the presbyterians; and each suspected that he was indifferent or secretly averse to their established sect. But he complained with reason, that his commissioner had exceeded his instructions in abolishing patronage, which was properly no innovation on the constitution of the Scottish church. From the beginning of the reformation

²⁷ Burnet, iv. 42. 92.

²⁸ Skinner, ii. 562.

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it had subsisted as a right, though protested against as a grievance, till the death of Charles I. when the choice of the ministers was first transferred to the congregation, and their admission to the presbytery, on a popular election or call. This privilege was restored at present with some reservation. The rights of patronage were purchased by the parishes at an inconsiderable rate, and the ministers proposed by the elders and landholders, were approved or rejected by the congregation at large. Their dissent was reviewed by the presbytery, and as the elders were ever more numerous than the landlords, the influence of the clergy never failed to determine the election. But the clergy were not thereby relieved from the necessity of low assentation; on the contrary, their influence over the people induced them to cultivate the most popular arts: grace and zeal were invariably preferred to moderation and learning; and to determine the choice of a fanatical people, it was necessary that the clergy should become fanatics themselves. Their fanaticism reacted on each other; while the king was deprived of the influence of the patrons to prevent the expulsion of the episcopal, and to restrain or temper the intolerance of the presbyterian clergy²⁹.

But the satisfaction with which the re-establishment of presbytery, and the redress of grievances inspired the people; the security derived from the detection of the plot, and the praise of clemency due to government, were effaced by a barbarous

²⁹ Burnet, iv. 89. Carstairs, 45. Parl. 1690, ch. 23.
transaction,

transaction, not inferior to the worst event in the preceding reigns.

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1690.
Pacification
of the high-
lands at-
tempted.

On William's departure for Ireland, to dispossess James of his last kingdom, a plan was suggested for the security of Scotland, to persuade the highlanders to submit to government, by sums of money distributed among the clans. The arrival of Buchan, and the expectations entertained from Montgomery's plots, had prevented its success. The episcopal lords who repaired to court on the king's return, to implore a pardon, endeavoured to extenuate their concern in the plot, by their apprehensions from the presbyterians; promised to support the established government if protected from the fury of Melville's party; and engaged to appease the disorders of the highlands, if the remainder of their clergy were preserved from expulsion. Though nothing could be more insincere than their promises, the earl of Melville was gently displaced with his friends. Sir John Dalrymple, the master of Stair, was appointed secretary; the earl of Tweeddale chancellor; Lothian commissioner to the assembly, which was soon dissolved; and by a political mistake that disgusted the presbyterians; some of the late plotters were admitted into administration, while they continued secretly devoted to James. Breadalbane, whose influence was extensive in the highlands, was entrusted with twelve thousand pounds to reconcile the chieftains, or rather to purchase a cessation of arms. That insidious and interested nobleman, void of attachment either to James or William, employed

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1692.

employed his emissaries to persuade the clans that to submit to government, till a fairer opportunity occurred to resume their arms, was the most acceptable service to the court of St. Germain's³⁰. Suspicious that he meant to appropriate the money to himself, the highlanders rose in their demands, and betrayed his advice to government; but it was discovered that they sought permission themselves from James to capitulate, with a design to resume their arms at his command. A severe proclamation was therefore issued in August. They were required to submit to government, and to receive the oaths and a free pardon before the first of January; and to enforce the penalty of military execution, a winter campaign was projected through the highlands. A plan suggested by Breadalbane's revenge, was adopted by the cruel policy of Dalrymple, to extirpate every clan in Lochaber that refused, or neglected to submit on the day prescribed. When the day approached, the chieftains, intimidated or apprised of their danger, hastened to disarm the resentment of government by their timely submission. Dundee and Buchan's officers were permitted to capitulate, and transported to France, where they were reduced to a company of private soldiers; and from the indigence and hardships sustained during their gallant services in Catalonia and Alsace, few of these unhappy exiles survived to revisit their native country³¹.

³⁰ Burnet, iv. 107—26. Macky's Characters and Mem. Lond. 1733.

³¹ Memoirs of Dundee's Officers in France. Carlisle, 137—40. Dalrymple, iii. 210. Ralph, ii. 331.

The last man to submit was Macdonald of Glenco. Towards the end of December he applied to the governor of Fort William, who refused, as not a civil magistrate, to administer the oaths; but dispatched him in haste, with an earnest recommendation to the sheriff of Argyle. From the snows and other interruptions on the road, before he reached Inverary, the county town, the day prescribed for submission had elapsed. The benefit of the indemnity was strictly forfeited; the sheriff was moved, however, by his entreaties and tears, to receive his oath of allegiance, and to certify the unavoidable cause of his delay. But his oath was industriously suppressed, by the advice particularly of Stair the president; the certificate was erased from the lists presented to the privy council; and it appears that an extensive combination was formed for his destruction. The earl of Breadalbane, whose lands he had plundered, and whose temporizing advice he had betrayed to government, was inured to the most atrocious massacres by the execution of letters of fire and sword against the earl of Caithness, whose estate and titles he had formerly usurped. Dalrymple, the secretary, had imbibed the bloody spirit of Lauderdale's administration; and, instigated by Breadalbane's resentment, expressed the most savage joy at an opportunity to extirpate a thievish clan. They persuaded William that Glenco was the chief obstacle to the pacification of the highlands. Perhaps they concealed the circumstance that he had applied within due time for the oaths to government, which he had since received. But they procured instructions, signed, and for their greater

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Military
execution
concerted.

1692.

greater security, countersigned by the king himself, to proceed to military execution against such rebels as had rejected the indemnity, and refused to submit on assurance of their lives. As these instructions were found insufficient, they obtained an additional order, signed, and also countersigned, by the king, "that if Glenco and his clan could well be separated from the rest, it would be a proper vindication of public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves." But the direction given by Dalrymple far exceeded even the king's instructions. In his letters to the commander in chief he recommended the cold and long nights of winter as the season fittest for execution, when the highlanders could not escape to their hills with their wives and children, and, without houses, the human constitution was unable to survive; regretted that the other clans in Lochaber, by their timely submission, had disappointed his vengeance; directed with the local knowledge derived from Breadalbane, that the passes to Glenco should be securely guarded; and exhorted even the subordinate officers to be sudden and secret in the execution of the plan, not to trouble the government with prisoners, nor to destroy the cattle and houses, which might render the people desperate, unless the whole clan were utterly extirpated. Such atrocious sentiments, uttered as usual with an ardent zeal for the public service, were communicated to the officers with full effect³².

³² Enquiry into the Massacre of Glenco; State Tracts, iii. Somers's Coll. xv. Memoirs of the Massacre of Glenco.

Glenco, assured of an indemnity, had remained at home unmolested for a month, when a detachment arrived from Fort William, under Campbell of Glenlyon, whose niece was married to one of his sons. The soldiers were received on assurance of peace and friendship, and quartered among the inhabitants of the sequestered vale of Glenco³³. Their commander enjoyed for a fortnight the daily hospitality of his nephew's table. They had passed the evening at cards together, and the officers were to dine with his father next day. Their orders arrived that night, to attack their defenceless hosts while asleep, and not to suffer a man, under the age of seventy, to escape their swords. From some suspicious circumstances the sons were impressed with a sudden presentiment of danger, and discovered their approach; but before they could alarm their father, the massacre spread through the whole vale. Before the break of day, a party, entering as friends, shot Glenco as he rose from his bed. His wife was stript naked by the soldiers, who tore the rings with their teeth from her fingers; and she expired next morning with horror and grief. Nine men were bound and deliberately shot at Glenlyon's quarters; his landlord was shot by his orders, and a young boy, who clung to his knees for protection, was stabbed to death. At another part of the vale the inhabitants were shot while sitting around their fire; women perished

B O O K
X.1692.
Massacre of
Glenco.

Feb. 13.

³³ Glen co, or coen, the Cona of Ossian; but it is observable that the Celtic historian or bard is not always so happy in the adaptation of former names or events to his poems. See the dissertation annexed to this volume.

with

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with their children in their arms; an old man of eighty was put to the sword; another, who escaped to a house for concealment, was burnt alive. Thirty-eight persons were thus inhumanly massacred by their inmates and guests. The rest, alarmed by the report of musquetry, escaped to the hills, and were preserved from destruction by a tempest that added to the horrors of the night. While the end of the Glen was guarded by Duncanson, with a detachment from Fort William, Hamilton the colonel, to whom the superintendence was entrusted, advanced with four hundred men to secure the eastern entrance, and complete the massacre; but from the inclemency of the night, was retarded beyond the appointed hour. When he entered the Glen at noon, an old man was the only victim that remained. But the carnage was succeeded by rapine and desolation. The cattle were driven off or destroyed. The houses, to fulfil Dalrymple's instructions, were burnt to the ground; and the women and children, stript naked, were left to explore their way to some remote and friendly habitation, or to perish in the snows³⁴.

Universal
outcry
against it.

The outcry against the massacre of Glenco, from the industry of the Jacobites, was not confined to Scotland, but resounded with every aggravation through Europe³⁵. Whether the inhuman rigour or the perfidious execution of the orders were con-

³⁴ Enquiry into the Massacre. Memoirs of the Massacre. Burnet.

³⁵ When the orders were published in the Paris Gazette, Dalrymple deliberately remarks, that all that could be said was, that in the execution it was neither so full nor so fair as might have been. Enquiry, &c.

sidered,

sidered, each part of the bloody transaction discovered a deliberate, treacherous, and an impolitic cruelty, from which the king himself was not altogether exempt. Instead of the terror which it was meant to inspire, the horror and universal execration which it excited, rendered the highlanders irreconcilable to his government, and the government justly odious to his subjects. His friends endeavoured in vain, from his inadvertence and haste, to transfer the blame to his ministers; his ministers, to vindicate the orders as strictly legal, or analogous to letters of fire and sword, which the privy council had been accustomed to grant. But when a second order, signed and countersigned by the king, with such unusual precaution, is combined with the impunity which his ministers enjoyed, no doubt can remain that, although the execution might exceed his intentions, the measure was not concerted without his knowledge and previous consent. No enquiry was made at the time; no punishment was inflicted afterwards, on the authors of the massacre. On the contrary, it is asserted that the officers most active in the execution were preferred. The best, and perhaps the just explanation of the transaction is, that William, beset with ministers inured to the sanguinary measures of the former government, was betrayed for once into an act of cruelty inconsistent with his character, and with the mild and merciful tenor of his reign.

The parliament, hitherto deferred from the discontent excited by the massacre of Glenco, was

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1692.

Sept. 12.
Session of
parliament.

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1693.

assembled at length to provide troops and supplies. Hamilton was appointed commissioner, and the session was conducted by Johnson the secretary, a younger son of Wariston, with consummate address. By the detection of Pain's correspondence, who conducted the intrigues of the Jacobites from the recesses of his prison, the presbyterians were alarmed at the danger of a plot, and by some partial alterations, reconciled to government. The Jacobites were deterred from opposition; and from their mutual apprehensions, the enquiry into the massacre of Glenco was suppressed. An additional land-tax, capitation and excise, were provided for the support of six thousand additional troops. The assurance to government was imposed on church and state. All correspondence with France, however innocent, was converted into treason: but Pain, whose correspondence occasioned these acts, was preserved from trial by a secret intimation to Hamilton and others, that he might obtain a pardon if condemned, by an ample discovery of the concern of their relations and friends in his plots³⁶.

Judicial
reforms.

During the preceding reigns, the corruption of justice excites no surprise. But the glory which the nomination of pure and upright judges reflects on William, was confined to England; nor is it sufficient to ascribe to political animosities the outcry of all parties against Stair as president. The

³⁶ Carstairs's State Papers, 154-8, 9. Ralph. ii. 426. Burnet, iv. 176. Parl. 1693, ch. 2, 3. 6. 8, 9.

evil of which they complained, may be estimated from the milder remedies to which the indignation of parliament was with difficulty restrained. Its own minutes were repeatedly falsified by Tarbat, lord register. Orders never made were inserted in private causes depending in parliament³⁷; and it would appear that the same frauds were employed to innovate or pervert the judgments of the court of session. Under the decent pretext of preventing mistakes, the clerk was enjoined to prepare, and the chancellor, or the presiding judge, to subscribe its *interlocutors*, as soon as pronounced, in the presence of the court. That these mistakes were neither accidental, nor of a venial nature, is sufficiently attested by the penalty of deprivation, to be inflicted on such high officers as the chancellor and president, in addition to the nullity of whatever sentences were otherwise signed. For the dispatch of business, each judge was required to officiate as ordinary, and confined in weekly rotation to the outer-house; but the reason was explained in the act, that on his irregular attendance in the inner-house, either party, suspicious of his influence and partial interference, might decline him as a judge³⁸. By a strange abuse, the

³⁷ Carlstairs, 153—67—9—72—81.

³⁸ Each of the fourteen subordinate judges sits in rotation as ordinary in the outer-house, to determine causes, in the first instance, before they are brought under the review of the whole court. The prohibition was directed against his attending; or being called in by the president, to determine a doubtful question in favour of a friend. The prohibition was obviously inadequate; as the president might delay the cause till the ordinary's

the judgments, both of the session and justiciary, were pronounced or concerted in private, when the parties were withdrawn; and to reduce the judges under the salutary influence of public opinion, they were ordained to deliberate with open doors. But the anxious precaution of parliament to reform the administration of justice, demonstrates rather the extent of the evil than the efficacy of the cure³⁹.

Ecclesiastical
affairs.

The parliament was not inattentive to the peace of the church. On accepting the oaths to government, such of the episcopal clergy as subscribed the confession of faith, and acknowledged presbytery as the only legal establishment, were to be admitted by the next assembly into the government of the church; or, on its refusal, received under the protection of the crown. Elated by the introduction of their party into office, the episcopal

ordinary's week had expired, or till a judge, whose opinion was adverse to his own, were employed as ordinary.

³⁹ Parl. 1693, ch. 18, 19. 21. 26, 27. Secretary Johnson writes to Carstairs on the perversion of justice. "Mr. Stevenson will tell you the instance of the nation's aversion to the session, that all parties agree in that. An honest man knows not what colours to give to the concern that appears to support an established perversion of justice. I should sleep sound were I assured the king would defeat the French, as it is evident whoever pays well some lawyers, do infallibly carry their cause, &c." Carstairs, 184. See also 174. Balcarras ascribes the duke of Hamilton's opposition to Stair, to the desire of filling the bench with dependents, as he had a number of law-pleas in hand. It is not where impartial justice is administered that we complain of the judges, or endeavour to corrupt them.

clergy

clergy imagined that the king was their own; and expecting nothing less than to supplant the presbyterians, neglected to qualify to government within the appointed time. The law intended for their protection might have proved their ruin; but, to the surprise of the presbyterians, they were still protected and preserved in their livings. The last assembly had been abruptly dissolved; but the clergy proceeded, in the name of the church, to dissolve themselves. The king was persuaded, by an insidious advice, to require the assurance to government from the approaching assembly, to whom it was little less intolerable, as an erastian usurpation, than to the episcopal clergy, as a solemn disavowal of hereditary right. The commissioner was instructed to dissolve the assembly if the assurance were refused; the clergy were prepared to fit and assert their independence on the civil magistrate. The consequences were mutually deprecated as ruinous; but in this perplexity they were relieved by the timely interposition of Carstairs, who persuaded the king to countermand the oaths; and the assembly, as a mark of gratitude, adopted the act of comprehension, to which the episcopal clergy refused to accede⁴⁰.

During a series of campaigns unconnected with our history, William, from his frequent absence on the continent, became remiss and inattentive to the affairs of Scotland; the direction of which was devolved, by Portland, on Carstairs, who had

Influence
and character of
Carstairs.

⁴⁰ Parl. 1693, ch. 22. Burnet, iv. 127—76. Carstairs, 58. Brown's Church Hist. ii. 326—9.

BOOK

X.

1694.

formerly endured the torture. From his silence then respecting some important secrets with which he was entrusted by Fagel, he became confidential chaplain to the king, and is to be considered henceforth as first minister of state. All application passed through his hands; all employments, honours, and offices of state, were left to his disposal; and, without the public responsibility, he engrossed the secret direction of public affairs. Few Scotsmen obtained access to the king, unless through his intervention; and in his correspondence with every department, it is curious to remark how the haughty nobility condescended to stoop and truckle to a presbyterian clergyman, whom their predecessors in office had tortured and deceived. His moderation, secrecy, and a prudence apparently disinterested, recommended him to William: but he is represented as a cunning, subtle, insinuating priest, whose dissimulation was impenetrable; an useful friend when sincere; but, from an air of smiling sincerity, a dangerous enemy⁴¹. His ascendancy commenced before the queen's death; and, amidst every change of administration, his influence continued entire during the remainder of the reign.

Dec. 28.

1695.
Parliament.
May 9.

On the death of Hamilton and Queensberry, the marquis of Tweeddale was appointed commissioner to parliament, which was never summoned except to provide supplies. The money voted for new levies, but not appropriated in the former

⁴¹ Macky's Characters, 209. Ralph, ii. 579.

session,

session, had been ungenerously diverted to other purposes; and the troops intended for internal defence, were employed to recruit the regiments abroad. The nobility were thus disappointed of commissions for themselves and their friends. The people were disgusted at William's supine inattention to Scotland; and an enquiry into the massacre of Glenco was so loudly demanded, that some extraordinary concessions were required from the crown. An enquiry was no sooner proposed, than the parliament was informed that a commission had been issued to investigate the massacre; and thanks were returned for a measure obviously intended to supersede a public examination, and screen the offenders from public justice. But the result of the enquiry, by the artifices of the ministers to supplant a rival, was reported to parliament at its repeated request; and after a diligent investigation, the guilt of the massacre was transferred to Dalrymple. The king was literally tried, and acquitted by a vote, that his instructions contained no warrant for the slaughter; but the offenders, instead of being surrendered to public justice, as the parliament requested, were pardoned or preferred. The necessary supplies and levies were provided. The episcopal clergy were permitted, on accepting the oaths to government, to remain exempt from the jurisdiction of presbyteries, and an hundred and sixteen were persuaded to qualify, and retain their livings under the protection of the king⁴².

⁴² De Foe's Hist. Union, 72. Burnet, iv. 177. 217. Carstairs, 203. State Tracts, iii. Parl. 1695, ch. 27.

BOOK

X.

1695.

African
and Indian
company
established.

But these grants and compliances of parliament were dearly purchased, by a concession of which William had reason to repent.

When the charter of the English East India company was renewed, the opposition of numerous merchants, desirous of a free or more extensive trade, suggested to Paterfon, a director of the bank, the most extensive schemes for the aggrandizement of Scotland. It is said that this obscure Scotsman was originally a buccaneer, who had acquired the spirit of romantic adventure from his association with that desperate race of men. It is certain that he was the author and first projector of the bank of England; but that he was defrauded of a recompense by those who adopted his plans⁴³. His resentment concurred with his patriotism, to confine his future schemes to his native country, through which he persuaded the disappointed merchants that a share might still be acquired in the Indian trade. Without explaining perhaps the particulars of his designs, he represented to the Scottish ministers that a foreign trade might be concentrated, and fixed in Scotland by a foreign capital; and a plan that promised to enrich the country was eagerly embraced. The massacre of Glenco was not yet expiated; and, to soothe and reconcile the parliament to the king's demands, the commissioner was authorized to assent to acts for the encouragement and extension of commerce, without detriment to the trade of England. But an act was passed to erect a trading company

⁴³ Burnet, iv. 239. Ralph, ii. 878—81.

to Africa and the Indies; with permission to establish colonies, towns, or forts, in places not inhabited or possessed by European powers; and with an exemption from duties for twenty-one years. A national bank, a more beneficial institution, was also created; but for some years the African or Indian company was the exclusive object that engrossed the annals and attention of Scotland. The religious disputes of the former age had begun to subside. When the people, relieved from the tyranny of their hereditary sovereigns, began to contemplate their comparative situation, the genius of the whole nation acquired a sudden and surprising change. Their country appeared to be poor and contemptible to the rest of Europe. The reason was considered as obvious, that it was the only maritime country inattentive to trade. The removal of the court, and the frequent resort of the nobility to England, were supposed to impoverish the kingdom, or prevent the gradual accumulation of a capital for the exercise of industry; and while other nations, during the last century, were rapidly progressive in arts and commerce, Scotland appeared to be stationary or retrograde since the union of the crowns. The benefit derived by Holland from her Indian trade, and by England from her colonies since the reformation, roused the attention and envy of the Scots; and when a commercial spirit was first excited by Paterfon's schemes, like a gamester who contemns the slow returns and accumulation of profits, they languished for the sudden influx of national wealth.

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X.

1695.
Settlement
at Darien
projected.

It was Paterfon's original and oftensible design, to establish an East Indian trade in Scotland, to which foreign merchants, impatient of the exclusive companies in England and Holland, might be invited to subscribe. Neither the stock for trade, nor the market for sale, was to be found in Scotland, where a small part of the profits could be expected to remain. Such an inconsiderable company as has since been transferred from Ostend to Sweden, might have subsisted by underselling those large societies, whose monopolizing spirit, and expensive management, have ever required the most exuberant profits. But a secret and magnificent plan was engrafted by Paterfon on his original designs. During his voyages with the buccaneers he had probably visited the isthmus of Darien, of which a considerable part was unoccupied, or, as he conceived, unappropriated by the Spaniards, and inhabited by tribes of independent Indians, hostile to their name. On each side of the isthmus he proposed to establish an emporium for the trade of the opposite continents; that the manufactures of Europe, and the slaves of Africa, transported to the gulph of Darien, and conveyed by land across the ridge of mountains that intersects the isthmus, might be exchanged for the produce of Spanish America, and for the rich merchandize of Asia, imported to the gulph of St. Michael, or the river Sambo, in the bay of Panama. The same trade-winds that waisted the European commodities across the Atlantic, would carry them across the Pacific ocean to Asia. The ships from each continent would return loaded with the produce of the

the others, while the ships from Europe would return with the produce of both the Indies. To unite the commerce of the two Indies, by a colony planted in the isthmus of Darien; or, in his own language, to wrest the keys of the world from Spain, was certainly the conception of no vulgar mind. It may be compared with the noblest and most successful of Alexander's designs; to establish a mart in Egypt, through which the commerce of India might flow for ages; and was worthy of Spain to execute, had Spain continued a free and enlightened nation. But the schemes of Paterfon were addressed to one of the poorest nations in Europe, and recommended by more immediate advantages, more attractive to the Scots. He represented the natural fertility of the soil, as adapted to the most valuable productions of the tropical climates, and the mines of gold with which the isthmus abounded, as sufficient to gratify their most insatiate desires. With a wiser policy, he proposed to render the colony a free port; where no distinction of party, religion, or nation, should prevail. His schemes were communicated to a select number; and as they were gradually suspected, or suffered to transpire, the commercial ideas of the Scots were expanded, and they began to grasp at the riches of both the Indies⁴⁴.

But the schemes of Paterfon, however splendid or successful, were unsuitable to Scotland, or to the circumstances perhaps of any nation not possessed

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1695

unsuitable
to Scotland.

⁴⁴ Darien Papers, MS. Adv. Lib. Collection of Papers concerning Darien, Anno 1701. p. 22.

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1695.

of extensive settlements in the west and east. Before a state engages in distant colonization, its capital should be sufficient to cultivate and improve its lands, to manufacture the produce for domestic consumption, and to transport the surplus to a foreign market. But the rude produce of Scotland was generally transported in Dutch barks. There was no capital for its manufacture, even for home consumption, much less for the proper culture and amelioration of the soil. That capital which has since encreased from the quick returns of a trade nearer home, must have been absorbed and lost in the settlement of Darien, the profits of which would have been remote and circuitous, and whose demands the manufactures of the country were then unable to supply. Instead of supporting domestic industry, a trade consisting of foreign manufactures, conducted even by a national capital, would have left nothing but the profits to be spent in Scotland. Even of that capital, a premature attempt to colonize must have deprived the nation by its very success. The settlement and plantation of Darien must have drained the country of its most active and industrious inhabitants, its funds, its credit; while the wealth that returned, would have departed through a thousand channels to the neighbouring nations, whose manufactures supplied its consumption and trade. The colony might perhaps succeed; but the capital withdrawn from domestic industry, and lost to the country, must have retarded, if it did not prevent, the accumulation of stock; and Scotland might have still continued

tinued stationary and uncultivated, without industry or the means of improvement.

BOOK
X.

1695.
Opposed in
England,

Such consequences were then imperfectly understood ; but more obvious difficulties occurred, which Paterfon, with the presumptuous ardour of a projector, had not duly estimated. A joint stock was proposed, of six hundred thousand pounds, to be raised in equal proportions for England and Scotland. Such was the reputation with which the African or Indian company began its career, that within nine days three hundred thousand pounds were subscribed in London, where ten English directors were appointed to reside. But the commercial jealousy of the Dutch and English East India companies was immediately excited : the West India merchants caught the alarm ; and all the bitterness of national animosity was at once revived. The two houses of parliament concurred in a violent and absurd address ; that from the vast immunities conferred on the African and Indian company, the stock and shipping of England would be transferred to Scotland, which might become a free port for the commodities of the east ; that the English, expelled from the foreign markets by the competition and exemption of the Scots from duties, would be underfold by a clandestine importation at home ; and if Scotland were once permitted to acquire a settlement in America, that the colonial trade of England would be utterly lost. The king replied, that he had been ill served in Scotland, but expected that some remedy to prevent the inconvenience might still be found.

1696.

His

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1696.

His ministers, the marquis of Tweeddale, who did not long survive, and the two secretaries, Johnson and Dalrymple, were immediately dismissed. But the commons proceeded to enquire by what means the act had been obtained in the Scottish parliament; to examine what subscriptions had been procured in London; and to impeach the directors in each kingdom for administering an oath of fidelity in England. The adventurers, intimidated at these furious proceedings, withdrew their subscriptions, and relinquished their design ⁴⁵.

1697.
And at
Hamburgh.

On the disavowal of their Indian company, the indignation and resentment of the Scots were excessive. The invidious opposition of the English confirmed their hopes; and as the act of which the king disapproved, could neither be recalled nor suspended, they determined to proceed. Four hundred thousand pounds were immediately subscribed, with such ardent zeal, that the covenant was never more eagerly embraced. The nobility, gentry, and merchants, every borough, and almost every family of distinction in the kingdom, hastened to subscribe their name and credit, and to contribute their funds, to the first of those ruinous projects, or national bubbles, which, in the South Sea and Mississippi schemes, were repeated afterwards in England and France. Distrustful, however, of their own resources, a third of their intended capital was reserved for foreigners. On Paterfon's application, two hundred thousand

⁴⁵ Darien Papers, MS. Ralph, ii. 623.

pounds

1697.

pounds were subscribed at Hamburgh; but the company was still pursued by the commercial jealousy of the English and Dutch. Sir Paul Rycaut, the English resident, presented a memorial to the senate, threatening the city with his master's resentment; and the merchants, notwithstanding a spirited answer, withdrew their subscriptions to avert his displeasure from a free state. The company petitioned in vain for redress; nor were these the only discouragements which it sustained. An absolute famine had arisen in Scotland, from the failure of the harvests during the three preceding years. Many families perished for want; many were driven to Ireland for subsistence, and the country was drained and impoverished by large sums exported for grain⁴⁶. Nothing else than the national pride or honour, piqued and indignant at the opposition of the English, could have incited the Scots, under such multiplied discouragements, to persist in the scheme. Five large frigates, built or purchased for the company at Hamburgh, were fitted out with a cargo of merchandize, military stores and provisions; and with a colony of twelve hundred men, three hundred of whom were gentlemen, destined for the settlement of new Caledonia, on the isthmus of Darien. Their future government was vested in a colonial assembly, and a council of seven, distinct from the company, which reserved a twentieth part of the lands, metals, precious stones, and pearl fisheries, and stipulated for an

1698.

Scots per-
sist in their
scheme.

⁴⁶ Carstairs, 385—7—91. Fletcher's Discourses. Burnet, iv. 261. Vindication of Darien, 39.

annual

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X.

1698.

July 30.

annual return of seven thousand pounds for the use of the shipping and military stores. As the hopes of the whole nation were placed on an enterprize, the greatest which Scotland had ever undertaken, an address was voted in a session of parliament, to which sir Patrick Hume, created earl of Marchmont and chancellor, was appointed commissioner, representing the obstructions invidiously created at London and Hamburgh, and demanding the protection of the king to vindicate those privileges which the company had obtained ⁴⁷.

Opposed
by the king.

The situation of William, at the head of nations whose commercial and political interests were often discordant, was undoubtedly perplexing, and every concession of trade to Scotland must have alarmed and offended the English and Dutch. But the settlement at Darien, which began to be suspected, was irreconcilable with the vast designs which he meditated for the partition of Spain. To oppose the dangerous aggrandizement of the house of Bourbon, was the uniform object of his life and reign. To prevent its succession to the whole of the Spanish monarchy, the partition treaty was concerted with Louis: but the settlement of the Scots at Darien, must have incensed the Spaniards as the first step towards its execution; and the French, as a perfidious departure from its terms. In these circumstances William might refuse his protection to the company, but was scarcely entitled to obstruct its success, much less

⁴⁷ Carstairs, 315—92. Darien Papers, MS. Collection of Darien Papers.

to accelerate its ruin. But the Jacobites had acquired the chief share and direction in the Darien company; and accustomed to consider Scotland as an appanage subservient to the interests of England, he suspected their design to render him odious to his other subjects, and involve him prematurely in a rupture with Spain. In return to the addresses of the parliament and the company, he complained that he was not consulted in the expedition, and when its destination was explained, instructions were dispatched to exclude the Scots from all access to the English plantations ⁴⁹.

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X.

1698.

Their fleet had coasted around the north of Scotland, and after a short delay at Madeira, continued its course to the gulph of Darien. The place of their destination was Acta, at an equal distance between Porto-bello and Carthagena, on the opposite coast to the isle of Pines, where they found a secure and capacious harbour, formed by a peninsula, which they fortified and named Fort St. Andrew, from their tutelary saint. But the lands were first purchased from the native princes, and by a specious example of moderation and justice, unknown to the new world, they proposed to establish a better title and right to the country than the Spaniards possessed. New Edinburgh, the intended capital of New Caledonia; was proclaimed a free port, open to all nations, and their first dispatches to the company contained the most flattering accounts of the climate and soil. Their arrival, in the beginning of winter, happened

Settlement
attempted
at Darien.

Nov.

⁴⁹ Id. 34. Ralph, ii. 817

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X.

1698.

1699.

at the most temperate and healthful season in the tropical climate, when the air was cool, serene, and refreshing, and the rich and luxuriant soil was no longer deluged with the rains attracted by a vertical sun. But the company had already been defrauded by its directors and servants, and the provisions brought from Scotland, were insufficient for the colony, and soon consumed. The gentlemen who had embarked as settlers, were unused to labour. The constitutions of the peasants, inured to a cold and mountainous region, were unequal to the fatigue of clearing the ground. On the sun's return from the further tropic, the colony melted away from improper food, and the diseases incident in a sultry, damp, and unwholesome climate, where it rains almost incessantly during two thirds of the year. No floops were provided to distribute their cargoes for provisions through the West India Islands, nor were the cargoes properly adapted for sale. The Spaniards who attacked their infant settlement, were repulsed with loss; but one of their vessels was stranded and seized at Carthagena, on its voyage to Barbadoes, and the crew were imprisoned and condemned as pirates. A vessel dispatched with provisions from Scotland, was burnt at sea. When the colony, in this critical situation, relied for subsistence on its trade with the English, proclamations were issued at Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the American plantations, prohibiting all succour or access to the Scots, whose settlement at Darien was an infringement of the peace and alliance with Spain. At home, the
most

most violent remonstrance was presented by the Spanish ambassador. The French king, to conciliate the court of Madrid, offered a squadron to dispossess the Scots. At the end of eight months, the remainder of that ill-fated colony was constrained, by disease and famine, to abandon their settlement, and embark for Europe; but in the West Indies and America, their ships were either denied access, or detained when admitted into the English harbours⁵⁰.

BOOK
X.

1699.

Abandoned
by the colony.

June 21.

Before the evacuation of Darien was reported, a second and a third expedition had failed from Scotland, not inferior in numbers to the first⁵¹. The company renewed their applications to the king for protection. In opposition to the Spanish ambassador's memorial, they maintained that a legitimate purchase from the native princes, who had still preserved their independence and the rights of possession, was a title far preferable to the pre-occupancy of a country which the Spaniards were unable to conquer, and had since relinquished. But when it was understood in Scotland, that in consequence of the proclamations in the Leeward Islands, the settlement was abandoned, the whole nation was struck with consternation and despair. To recede was impossible, without utter ruin; the most vigorous orders to repossess the country were dispatched in quest of the second colony, and the settlement was resumed, under the same circum-

Settlement
resumed
and again
abandoned.

⁵⁰ Pamphlets on Darien. Col. concerning Darien, 122—43.

⁵¹ Two ships sailed in May with three hundred men, four others in September with thirteen hundred. Darien Papers.

BOOK stances of famine and disease. The new colony
X. found the huts burnt, and the forts demolished;
 1699. but the difficulties of their situation, in a country
 that furnished no provisions, nor returns for Europe,
 were encreased by dissensions among themselves.

Feb. 24. Three months after their arrival, they were at-
 tacked by the Spaniards. Twelve hundred that

March 18. advanced from Panamá, were easily dispersed; but
 a squadron of eleven ships from Carthagena forced
 them to capitulate, on permission to embark with
 1700. their effects for Europe. Their ships were unpro-
 vided for such a long voyage, and of three successive
 colonies that arrived at Darien, few survived to
 return to Scotland³².

Ferment of
 the nation.

For a time, the nation was soothed and pleased,
 with the hopes of repossessing its favourite settlement,
 and the apprehensions of utter ruin had begun to
 subside. But the public indignation at government
 was heightened, and the most clamorous efforts of
 rage were employed to extort from William a con-
 firmation of the national right to Darien. In the
 hands of the Jacobites, who had insinuated them-
 selves into the management of the company, the
 court of directors acted as a powerful engine in op-
 position to government. Public prayers, to avert or
 exasperate rather the calamities of the nation, were
 appointed by the commission of the assembly at
 their request. A national address to assemble
 parliament, was circulated through the kingdom,
 and universally subscribed, while a proclama-
 tion against disorderly petitions was issued in

³² Darien Papers. Cartairs, 499. 511. 612.

vain.

vain⁵³. The address was presented by Tweeddale, but the king's refusal to accelerate the meeting of parliament encreased the ferment. When he sought the approbation of the English parliament, the lords interposed to vindicate his opposition to the settlement at Darien, but the commons refused to concur in the address; when he recommended an union, to reconcile the hostile interests of the kingdoms, they rejected the bill. In the resolution not to disturb the repose of Europe, nor renew the war for an inconsiderable settlement, to which the claim was at least doubtful, his motives of just and enlightened policy obtained little credit, and made no impression on the untractable Scots. When the day prefixed for their parliament approached, the presbyterians united again with the Jacobites, and a majority appeared in opposition to the measures of the crown. The most inflammatory publications had been dispersed through the nation; the most violent addresses were presented from the towns and counties; and whosoever ventured to dispute or doubt the utility of Darien, was reputed a public enemy, devoted to a hostile and corrupt court. A resolution to assert the national right to Caledonia, and to support the colony as a national concern, was prevented by adjournment: and as the ferment still continued, the parliament was prorogued. Before the members dispersed, they concurred in a remonstrance to the king against illegal adjournments, as a violation both of the freedom of debate, and the declaration of rights. The

BOOK
X.
1700.

May 11.

⁵³ Id. 500—13. Coll. Darien Papers, 103.

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1700.

Distress and
despair at
the loss of
Darien,

populace rose tumultuously, on the first notice of the defeat of the Spaniards by their countrymen at Darien. They proclaimed illuminations for the deliverance of Caledonia, demolished the windows, or insulted the persons of the officers of state, and broke open the prisons to release some seditious printers; nor had the government vigor sufficient to inflict a punishment adequate to the offence⁵⁴.

But when the surrender and final ruin of the settlement were known, the calamitous state of the nation was universally felt. Two hundred thousand pounds were sunk and lost in the different expeditions; an equal sum had been sent abroad, during five years of scarcity, for the purchase of food, and a general bankruptcy was expected to ensue. Many who had subscribed their whole fortunes, were reduced to ruin; and few families had escaped the loss of a relative or friend. Instead of returning with wealth and distinction, the adventurers who survived the mortality of a noxious climate, continued to languish in the Spanish prisons, or were left to starve in the English plantations; and the nation, awaked from its dreams of immense wealth, stript of its credit, resources, and trade. Its stock for trade was exhausted; the credit of the nation was ruined; and as every neighbouring kingdom had proved an enemy, hostile to its aggrandizement, all hopes were extinguished of emerging from a poor and contemptible state. The sense of present degra-

⁵⁴ Darien Papers, 133. Carstairs, 510—33—9—86. 607—
15. Ralph, ii. 848. Minutes of the Scottish Parl.

dation,

dition, was exasperated by the memory of former independence, when its arms were respected, and its alliance solicited by the greatest potentates. Every domestic calamity which the country had sustained, was industriously traced to the removal of the seat of government, the corrupt resort of the nobility to the English court, and the pernicious influence of English councils since the union of the crowns. The most desperate attempts were projected, to sit in parliament by force, or to hold a convention of estates at Perth. On the duke of Gloucester's death, in whom, as the last child of the princess Anne, the settlement of the crown determined, the Jacobites proposed to declare the throne vacant, and even the presbyterians seem to have deliberated whether to separate from England, if no successor were provided on the king's demise⁵⁵. As the scarcity of money, even for the common purposes of circulation, was universally felt, an association was formed against the use of foreign manufactures, or the importation of French wines, to deprive the government of the most productive articles of customs and excise. The Jacobites endeavoured to seduce, or prepared to disband the army when the parliament met. Every indication threatened a separation of the crowns; but their applications to the court of St. Germain were unexpectedly rejected. Louis, unassured as yet of his grandson's succession to the Spanish monarchy, was unwilling

July 29.

⁵⁵ Carstairs, 561-70: Interest of Scotland, in three Essays, by Seton of Pitmedden, 1700. Scotland's Grievances relating to Darien. Coles's Mem. 174.

BOOK

X.

1700.

to renounce the partition treaty, and persuaded James, that amidst the dissensions of the two kingdoms, the encouragement given to the Scots might incense the English, from whom alone his restoration could proceed. That bigoted monarch, engrossed with acts of monastic devotion, tamely expected the death of William as a signal to return and re-ascend the throne³⁶.

Parliament
mollified.

As the supplies for the army expired with the year, a session of parliament became indispensable; but the situation of the country never appeared more alarming or formidable to government, and nothing less than the king's presence was expected to appease the public discontent. His declining health, however, had increased his natural reserve and aversion to factions. Reposing a just confidence in his commissioner, the duke of Queensberry's address and influence, he endeavoured by a conciliatory declaration, to soothe the people, and availed himself dexterously of the loss of Darien, to represent the dangerous impolicy of involving his ancient kingdom, alone and unsupported, in a heavy war which she was unable to sustain, for a precarious settlement which it was impossible to preserve in opposition to Spain. Every security was proposed for the preservation of religion, personal liberty, and the freedom of trade. The prisoners wrecked and condemned at Carthage as pirates, were released at his request, and as the recovery of Darien, the sole bond of union was no

³⁶ Coles's Mem. 55, 209—70. Macpherson's Orig. Pap. i. 257.

longer

longer expected, the presbyterians were gradually detached from a party whose violence aimed at the destruction of the state. The members of parliament were the most untractable, as they were mutually pledged by their late addresses. But the boroughs were recently admitted to farm the customs; bribes and pensions were freely dispensed; and the officers of state undertook each a separate progress through the country, not to corrupt the leaders of opposition, but to seduce their adherents. When the parliament was opened, the duke of Hamilton, the leader of opposition, was deserted by his former majority⁵⁷: the affairs of Darien were postponed for acts to conciliate the public esteem: the people were gratified by the incapacitation of papists from the purchase, sale, or inheritance of lands, in preference or prejudice to the next protestant heir; but our gratitude is more justly due for the security which personal liberty obtained. An act frequently demanded, was introduced against wrongful imprisonment, and the undue delay of trial, which, notwithstanding the claim of rights, was never properly restrained. The informer was required to sign his information; the magistrate, a warrant expressive of the particular cause of commitment; and, on application to a competent judge, the prisoner was ordained to be released, on bail, within twenty-four hours, unless the offence were capital, in which case his trial was to be brought within sixty days. When re-

October 29.

⁵⁷ Carstairs, 650—73. Fletcher's first Discourse on Scotland. Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne. Minutes of Parliament.
leased

BOOK
X.

1700.

leased on the failure to prosecute, he might be imprisoned again, on a second indictment; but if twice discharged, he was exempt from all further prosecution for the same offence. Arbitrary transportation, so frequent during the former reigns, was prohibited without a legal sentence, or judicial consent; and in addition to the severe penalties annexed to wrongful imprisonment or transportation, the judges who rejected the prisoner's application, or refused to give full effect to the act, were declared incapable of public trust. If in some particulars, inferior to the habeas corpus in England, the act inflicts a more adequate penalty on the iniquity of the judge.

Resolutions
of parliament.

1701.

But the affairs of Darien were too important to be treated with silence or contempt. The honour and independence of the nation remained to be vindicated; and a series of popular, and high spirited resolutions were adopted, against which the ministers durst not express their dissent. The addresses, votes, and the whole procedure of the English parliament, against a company instituted by an act of the Scottish legislature, were declared an officious and undue encroachment on the authority of an independent state. The memorial of the English resident to the senate of Hamburgh, was pronounced injurious, false, and contradictory to the laws of nations. The proclamations of the governors in the English plantations, were stigmatized as pernicious to the company, barbarous and repugnant to the common rights of humanity. The colony of New Caledonia was finally vindicated,

cated, as a just and legal settlement, perfectly warranted by the statute and letters patent which the company had obtained¹⁸. On these unanimous resolutions, the ministry proposed to address the king. The opposition demanded an act, not only to assert the right, but to support the prosecution of the claim to Darien, without which they asserted that the company was still insecure, and its adventurers liable to be treated as pirates. But their design was obvious, to involve the king in hostilities with Spain. After a fierce and tumultuous debate, an address was carried by twenty-four votes, to vindicate the honour of the kingdom, and assure the company of his majesty's protection¹⁹. The immunities of the Darien company were prolonged. The exportation of wool, the importation of foreign manufactures, or of French wines, were prohibited till the fish and manufactures of Scotland were admitted into France. The army was reduced to three thousand men; and by the prudent concessions of William, aided by the intrigues of his ministers, a parliament which had endangered the harmony of the two kingdoms, was quietly adjourned.

The remainder of the reign passed in fullen discontent at the loss of Darien, the remembrance of which was long preserved with resentment and regret. When the settlement of the crown was extended in England to the house of Hanover, the people were too much exasperated

B O O K
X.
1702.

Death of
James.

¹⁸ Minutes of Parl.

¹⁹ Id. January 13, 14. Carstairs, 684.

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X.

1701.

Sept. 16.

in Scotland for the same measure to be proposed with success; and to secure the protestant succession, an union of the two kingdoms was deemed indispensable. On the duke of Anjou's succession to the Spanish monarchy, the hopes of the Jacobites revived at the prospect of a war, which was accelerated, instead of being prevented, by the death of James. His spirit, immersed in the most sordid superstition, had already sunk beneath the dignity or sense of his misfortunes; and by the most ascetic mortifications among the Monks of La Trappe, he seemed desirous to convince the world, that, when despoiled of a crown, he was unworthy to reign. Naturally intrepid, just, open, and indulgent at least in domestic life, his superstition chiefly contributed to render him tyrannical, relentless, pusillanimous, and frequently insincere. He declined a competition for the crown of Poland, and at the peace of Ryfwick, would have refused his son as a successor to William, had the latter offered as he expected, to educate or even to provide for his succession to the throne⁶⁰. His last moments were consoled by the assurance of Louis to acknowledge the prince of Wales, who was proclaimed on his father's death, and received as king by the court of France. An event so grateful to his

⁶⁰ Such expectations, it appears, were entertained by the Jacobites previous to the peace of Ryfwick, but discouraged by James. Macpherfon's Orig. Pap. i. 551. But Dr. Somerville has sufficiently shewn that no such offer was made by William, and that the secret conferences between the earl of Portland and Marshal Boufflers respected the jointure of James's queen. Hist. of Polit. Tran. 442.

adherents,

adherents, which alarmed and incensed the English at the indignity of accepting a monarch from the French, confirmed the grand alliance projected by William, to circumscribe the inordinate power of the house of Bourbon on the acquisition of Spain. But at home the protestant succession was still insecure. In his last message to the house of commons, William earnestly recommended an union of the kingdoms; which, from his approaching dissolution, he had no hopes to accomplish himself.

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X.
1702.

His constitution, feeble from his untimely birth, and oppressed by the cares of government when repose was necessary, sunk beneath a complication of disorders; but the immediate cause of his death was a fall from horseback, which his decayed and exhausted frame was unable to sustain. He languished above a fortnight, under an aguish fever, and expired in the fifty-second year of his age, of an inflammation in his lungs. His person was of the middle size, ill-shaped and ungraceful, except on horseback; his nose aquiline; but the harsh features of his countenance, which was pale and solemn, were enlightened by the piercing lustre of an eagle eye. From the constraint imposed on his early youth, his manners were silent, cold, and so extremely reserved, that he dispensed with almost equal indifference refusals and rewards. Unfavourable impressions were sooner received than effaced from his mind; but his resentment never descended to the meanness of revenge. His habitual reserve and taciturnity increased with his declining

Death and
character
of William.

March 8.

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X.

1792.

declining health ; but his disposition was not always averse to the enjoyment of social life, nor unsusceptible of the finer feelings of love and friendship. From the disadvantages of a neglected education, he was ignorant of the fine arts, and insensible to their charms ; incapable of a steady application to business, or impatient, perhaps, of the minute and official details of public affairs. But his virtues were of a severer and more exalted order. His mind was still intent on some great design, in which the various qualities of a sound and provident judgment were successively exerted ; an invention ever fertile in resources ; a calm and serene magnanimity in battle and danger ; fortitude during adversity ; moderation in prosperity ; fidelity to his allies ; and above all, an invincible attachment to public liberty, to which his ambition was a secondary, subordinate passion. His life was spent in a constant struggle with France, at first to preserve the independence of his country, then the balance or independence of Europe ; and as he refused the sovereignty of Holland, at the expence of its freedom, he would have equally rejected the crown of England, had it been offered on terms inconsistent with those great designs. From the deliverer of England, he became the arbiter and protector of the liberties of Europe ; and if not the most skilful and successful general, the most enlightened and upright statesman of his age ; inflexible in his pursuit of public utility ; not incapable of yielding to exigences ; and improving dexterously every opportunity that occurred. Indifferent and impartial

to the factions that divided, and shook the nation, he trusted and employed them alternately, with a confidence that extended even to domestic treason; and from his intimate knowledge of the human character, he possessed the rare talent of adapting the services of his secret enemies to the prosecution of his designs. His character was chiefly distinguished by a steady integrity, a dignified simplicity, a patriotic regard for the rights of mankind. At the distance of a century, when the prejudices of faction are forgotten, and the benefits conferred by his government have ceased to operate, religious toleration, which he was the first prince in Europe to introduce, constitutes the purest glory of his life and reign. Like other benefactors of the human race, he experienced distrust and ingratitude from the nations which he redeemed; but the English ought to revere his memory, as the greatest monarch who has succeeded since Elizabeth, and the last who assumed the personal direction, and devoted himself to the service, of the state.

Were an abatement to be made from this illustrious character, it is in the government of Scotland that the most exceptionable part of his conduct appears. There, however, it may be truly affirmed, that the statesmen in whom he was obliged to confide, trained under the former government, and tenacious of its abuses, betrayed him into arbitrary exertions of power; while the political situation of Europe, which engrossed his time and presence, in the cabinet and in the field, necessarily rendered him remiss and inattentive to domestic

Lenity of
his reign in
Scotland.

BOOK
X.

1701.

domestic affairs. Let it be remembered also, that amidst the incessant plots and conspiracies of the Jacobites, notwithstanding the jealous fears from which new governments become rigid and cruel, not a single person perished on the scaffold, nor was there a noble family in Scotland ruined by forfeitures during his lenient reign.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK XI.

Accession of Anne.—New Parliament.—Act of Security proposed. — Passed. — Alarm — and Acts in England against the Scots.—Protestant Succession attempted in Parliament.—Postponed for a treaty of Union. — Negotiation of the Commissioners. — Articles examined in Parliament.—Debates and Arguments of each party on an Union.—Insurrection projected and disappointed.—Union ratified by the Scotch—and English Parliaments.—Completed by dissolving the Privy Council, and introducing the English Treason Laws.—Review of its effects.—Conclusion of the whole.

THE accession of the princeſs Anne, the eldeſt ſurviving, and the laſt proteſtant daughter of James, was acceptable to the whigs, as the ſettlement of the crown was fulfilled according to the claim of rights, and propitious to the tories, as a

BOOK
XI.

1702.

Stewart was again restored to the throne. The latter were introduced into the administration in England; but in Scotland, where the tories were almost all Jacobites, the whigs were still permitted to remain in power. But the Jacobites were disposed to acquiesce in the queen's government, from a rational expectation, and perhaps a secret assurance, that although she would never relinquish the crown while alive, yet the ties of natural affection and attachment to the last prince of her race, might persuade her to secure the succession to her brother, in the event of her decease.

State of
parties.

The convention parliament, however refractory at times, had subsisted during the whole of the preceding reign. From its long duration, the ministry had found access to a majority of the members; and it was neither the interest of the former to dissolve the parliament, nor the inclination of the latter to return to their constituents. While the people were tranquil, a general election was considered as unnecessary, whenever they were agitated, as too dangerous to be incurred. But the loss of Darien, as it was ascribed to the pernicious influence of English councils, had created a formidable opposition in parliament, in proportion to the discontent which it excited through the nation. The Jacobites had assumed the mask of public spirit, to unite with a party that asserted the commercial interests and independence of Scotland; and the duke of Hamilton, the ostensible leader of the country party, was popular from his uniform opposition to the crown. His attachment to the exiled family was unalterable; but

But his address was sufficient to unite and reconcile the most discordant parties, and the most opposite characters to the prosecution of his designs. Cautious, and almost irresolute in deliberation, he was prompt, intrepid, and inflexible in the execution of measures; an impressive rather than an eloquent speaker; dexterous in penetrating into the designs of others, but actuated, on the most important occasions, by some selfish, subordinate considerations of interest or revenge. His fortune was embarrassed by debts and law-suits, but his stake was too considerable, in each kingdom, to permit him ever to instigate his party to arms. From his ambition to supplant the duke of Queensberry in administration, his chief object at present, was to procure a dissolution of parliament, where his party was still inferior in strength¹.

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XI.
1702.

By an act passed for the security of the kingdom, in the late reign, the duration of parliament was prolonged six months after the death of the king. The estates were authorized to meet in parliament, within twenty days, to provide for the public safety and the protestant succession, but not to innovate on the constitution or established laws². Hamilton and his friends had applied in person to the queen to dissolve the parliament; but as a majority continued attached to the court, it was held by Queensberry, after an irregular adjournment beyond the appointed time. Before her majesty's

Secession
from par-
liament.

¹ Lockhart's Mem. with Sir John Clerk's MS. Notes, p. 28. Cunningham's Hist. i. 322.

² Parl. 1696, ch. 17.

commission or letter was read, the duke of Hamilton rose, and declared that the parliament, except as far as preserved by the act of security, had expired in consequence of the demise of the crown, and as the objects of that act were happily accomplished, as the protestant succession and the public safety were already secured by her majesty's accession, he protested against the proceedings, or the continuance of parliament, as an illegal convention, and withdrew at the head of eighty members, who were received by the populace with loud acclamations. Notwithstanding this unexpected, and large secession, the parliament was duly constituted; and when the queen's letter, recommending the measures of her predecessor, was read and enforced by the commissioner and chancellor, proceeded to vindicate her authority and assert its own. To disown or impugn the authority of either, was created treason. Presbyterian government was confirmed with such zeal, that a member who pronounced its principles inconsistent with monarchy, was immediately expelled. The dean and faculty of advocates, who approved the protest of the eighty members, were summoned to the bar, and severely reprimanded for their seditious votes. Ten monthly assessments and a half were granted, to be raised in two years; and the queen was empowered to appoint commissioners for a treaty of union, according to the last most earnest request of the late king. But a bill introduced by Marchmont the chancellor, to abjure her brother, the pretended prince of Wales, produced an unexpected division among the presbyterians themselves. Some

were

were desirous to exclude the disaffected from the next parliament; others were averse to the settlement of the crown, till the redress of grievances were obtained from England. Ministers had received no instructions to provide for the protestant succession, which the English cabinet was inclined to leave undetermined, to overawe the whigs; and the parliament was adjourned, as the opposition threatened to summon the seceding members to their aid³.

BOOK
XI.
1702.

Commissioners were appointed for each kingdom, to treat at Westminster, where some progress was made to facilitate an union. They agreed that the two kingdoms should be incorporated into one monarchy, under the same legislature and line of succession, with a mutual communication of privileges, and a free trade. The English consented with reluctance to admit of a participation in their plantation trade; the Scots were with difficulty persuaded to submit to the same imposts with England, on home consumption; but refused, without an equivalent, to incur a share of the national debt, or to relinquish their Darien company, in which the public faith and the wealth of the kingdom, were so deeply involved. The English commissioners, who still considered its privileges as inconsistent with those of their East India company, represented that the interference of two great and exclusive companies might prove injurious to the trade of the united kingdom; and to reconcile

October 27.
Union attempted.

³ Lockhart, ii. Parl. 1702, ch. 7. Minutes of Parl. Carstairs, 714. Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne, i. 54.

BOOK XI. the opposite interests of two monopolies, such difficulties occurred that the treaty was adjourned *.

1703.
Change of
ministers.

But the unexampled duration of parliament, which had subsisted fourteen years, excited general discontent. Originally elected for a convention, if its authority was doubtful or disputable, when converted into a parliament in the preceding reign, its continuance under the present was considered as absolutely null. The people were entitled to annual elections; and, after the secession of the country party, began to dispute the authority of the rump, as the parliament was termed, and to refuse payment of the taxes which the last session had imposed. At the instigation of Queenberry, who proposed to dissolve the attachment of the Jacobites to Hamilton, and surmount the opposition of the country party, the court embraced the opportunity to dismiss the whigs. The earls of Marchmont, Melville, Selkirk, Leven, and Hyndford, who adhered to the principles of the revolution, were displaced, and those statesmen were introduced into office who had occasionally opposed the measures of the late reign. The Jacobites were elated with the change. They availed themselves of an indemnity, to return from exile; or accepted the oaths of allegiance to the queen, with a secret reservation, as regent during her brother's minority. The episcopal clergy solicited, and were promised, an ample toleration;

* De Foe's Hist. of Union, App. 14. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, iii. 558.

and,

and, although the public exercise of their religion occasioned frequent riots, expected nothing less than an alteration in the government of the church. The presbyterians, alarmed and depressed, began to suspect the new ministers, and the queen herself, of a secret design to supplant their religion, as the first step towards her brother's succession; when a new parliament was summoned, to provide for the deficiency of the former supplies.³

B O O K
XI.

1703.

New parliament.

The efforts of each party were exerted, at the general election, to strengthen its interest in the approaching parliament, the last which was destined to be held in Scotland. Lord Seafield, the chancellor, was employed to manage the returns; and his assurances of the queen's attachment and reliance on their fidelity, persuaded many of the Jacobites to transfer their interest at elections to the crown. But the court party was divided and broken by the recent change. The adherents of the revolution were jealous of their new associates, whom the late ministers were ready to oppose. The country party were almost equally numerous; and if we except a few Jacobites, consisted either of presbyterians, or of independent members indifferent to religious sects. The Jacobites, who assumed the name of cavaliers, formed a distinct body, whose numbers were still inconsiderable; but they were prepared to unite with either of the contending parties, and expected to incline the balance to which ever side they

³ Lockhart, p. 21. Boyer, i. 160. 206. ii. 15. Ridpath's Account of Parl. 1703, p. 11. Cunningham's Hist. i. 320.

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XI.

1703.
May 6.

those⁶. When the parliament was opened by Queensberry the commissioner, a recognition of the queen's title and authority was proposed by Hamilton, as a compliment or decent apology for an intended motion, that the last session was an illegal convention, and the ministers responsible for their unconstitutional advice. An additional clause was proposed to counteract this obvious design; that it should be high treason to question, not only her majesty's title, but the exercise of her government, since the commencement of her reign. The presbyterians concurred with the court party to support the amendment, which was carried by a large majority; and the Jacobites, who still adhered to the commissioner, endeavoured, by their ostentatious services, to merit favour from the queen. The earl of Home, their leader, proposed a supply; the earl of Strathmore an act of toleration, to exempt the episcopal ministers from the oaths to government; but their views extended to the revival of patronage, and the introduction of their clergy into the benefices of the church⁷. The presbyterians and the court party, attached to the revolution, were alarmed at their unwonted zeal in support of government. The commission of assembly petitioned against an iniquitous toleration. Argyle and Marchmont awakened the commissioner's jealousy at the growing power and ambition of Hamilton, to whom, when their present objects were once accomplished, the Jacobites

⁶ Cunningham, i. 324, 5. Ridpath, 20. 31. Lockhart, 35.

⁷ Ridpath, 5. 38.

bites would still continue to adhere. They introduced two acts, to confirm the presbyterian government, and to declare it high treason to impugn the authority of the convention parliament, or to attempt an alteration in the claim of rights. As the abrogation of prelacy and ecclesiastical pre-eminence constituted an article of the claim of rights, the presbyterian religion, from the concurrence of the presbyterians with the court party, was thus indirectly sanctioned by the penalties of treason, and all hopes of episcopal government were finally repressed. The Jacobites, who had stipulated that no confirmation should be bestowed on the revolution, abandoned the commissioner, by whose connivance their religion was proscribed; and continued ever after attached invariably to the country party*.

These preliminary disputes were subordinate to a more important question with which the nation was agitated, productive of an ultimate union between the two kingdoms. Ever since the projected settlement at Darien, the genius of the nation had acquired a new direction; and as the press is the true criterion of the spirit of the times, the numerous productions on every political and commercial subject, with which it daily teemed, had supplanted the religious disputes of the former age. As the loss of Darien was invariably deduced from the servile dependence of ministers on the English cabinet, whatever misfortunes the nation had suf-

Disposition
of the par-
liament and
the nation.

* Ridpath, 44. Boyer, ii. 36. Lockhart, 44. Proceedings of the Parl. of Scotland, 1703.

BOOK

XI.

1703.

tained since the union of the crowns, the increase of the prerogative, and the exaltation of the hierarchy by James VI. the introduction of the liturgy by Charles, the civil wars which it produced in Scotland, and the furious persecution under Charles II. were aggravated and ascribed to the same cause by the public discontent. The commerce of the nation, as it was far less progressive than in other countries, was supposed to have declined since the accession of James. A share in the plantation trade was considered as a just equivalent, due to a nation impoverished during the preceding century, by the attendance of its nobility at the English court, and the loss of its commercial privileges in France. But the Scots were excluded from the plantations by the navigation act. Their shipping there had been seized and confiscated; and their trade with England was discouraged, since the restoration, by the same restrictions imposed on aliens⁹. Every attempt to extend their commerce, or establish a settlement in the east or west, was repressed by the predominating influence of the English cabinet; and it was supposed that the worst, and most servile statesmen were invariably selected for the administration of Scotland. Every opportunity to improve, or redeem their constitution from a foreign influence, had been disappointed, it was said, by the delusive offer of an union till the danger subsided; and the nation lamented the improvidence of its ancestors, who neglected to secure the independence of their government, by limitations previous to the union

⁹ Ridpath's Discourse on the Union, 1702.

of the crowns. The source of every preceding disaster was felt at once, on the loss of Darien, in the pernicious influence of the English cabinet over the sovereign, which it became the duty of every true born Scot to resist. The country party was formed, like every opposition, of an independent interest, with the discontented of every description intermixed; but their professed object was to procure redress for the loss of Darien, and emancipate their country from the English yoke.

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XI.
1703.

A fairer opportunity than the present could never have occurred. At the close of the last reign, when the settlement of the crown of England was extended to the princess Sophia, Dowager of Hanover, the next protestant descendant of the elector palatine, and of Elizabeth, daughter of James VI. the estates of Scotland were not once consulted, and no provision was yet made to preserve the union of the crowns. The most salutary measure that originated in England would have been rejected by the discontented of all ranks; and an incorporating union was recommended by William, to establish the same protestant succession in Scotland, and prevent the final separation of the kingdoms. The security of England required that the protestant succession should be received in Scotland, but it was the obvious policy of all parties there, that the succession should remain undetermined till their grievances were redressed, or the benefit of an union were first obtained. To secure the independence of government, the country party determined to impose limitations on the successor

Views of
parties.

B O O K
XI.

1703.

successor to the crown. The court party were inclined to postpone, or rather to introduce the succession by a previous union; but it was the interest of the Jacobites to leave the succession open for the last prince of the house of Stewart. Hamilton, who maintained a strict correspondence with the exiled family, was instructed to persuade the queen if possible, to admit her brother to the crown of England during her life, that his accession might be secured in England after her death. But the country party in general, the marquis of Tweeddale, the earls of Rothes, Haddington, Roxburgh, Hyndford, Marchmont, lord Belhaven, Baillie of Jerviswood, and Fletcher of Salton, were indifferent, or more probably irreconcilable to the pretender's interest, and never meant to renounce their attachment to the protestant succession ¹⁰.

Act of security.

According to these views of the different parties, the settlement of the crown was industriously evaded. The consideration of supplies was postponed, to prevent a sudden prorogation, till an act for the security of the kingdom were prepared. In the event of the queen's death, it was proposed that the parliament then existing, or if dissolved, that the last parliament should assemble within twenty days, during which the government was

¹⁰ Macpherson, and other late historians, erroneously represent the country party as all Jacobites. It is difficult now to ascertain the numbers of each in parliament: but after the defection of the *Squadron*, which consisted of more than thirty members, Lockhart is still careful to discriminate the Jacobites from the country party.

to be lodged with the privy council and such of the estates as repaired to town. Papists, aliens, Englishmen invested with a peerage, without an adequate estate in Scotland, were excluded from a parliament which was intended to provide for the demise of the crown. If no issue of the queen existed, and no heir were already appointed to the throne, the estates were directed to name a successor, of the royal line and the protestant faith; but it was carefully provided, that the same person should not succeed to the throne of England, unless such conditions of government were previously framed, during her majesty's reign, as might secure from English, or foreign influence, the honour and independence of the crown and kingdom; the freedom, frequency, and authority of parliament; the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation. An additional clause, proposed in opposition to these limitations, was adopted in the act; that the same person should be incapable of succeeding to both kingdoms, unless a free communication of trade, the benefits of the navigation act, and the liberty of the plantations, were also obtained. The commissions of the officers of state and of the military commanders, were to expire with the sovereign, to prevent the existence or influence of an English government during the interregnum; the inhabitants fit for arms were ordained to be uniformly armed, and regularly disciplined once a month; and the prerogative of declaring war and peace, by a separate act, was to be exerted by the sovereign with consent of the estates; from an obvious design, that if the concessions expected from
England

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Debated.

England were ever revoked, the nation might refuse to concur in its continental wars.

Never was an act so violent, adopted in Scotland with more deliberation, or opposed by more artful interruptions and delays. Each clause was debated and voted as a separate act. As the estates were seldom permitted to meet till evening, or to sit above once every third day, three months were consumed on the act, that the members, wearied and exhausted by attendance, might return to their homes". But the independence of Scotland had created the deepest interest in the nation; and the act of security was supported with a spirit and eloquence which the parliament hitherto had never displayed.

Arguments
for,

As the present settlement of the crown expires with the queen, nothing less, said the advocates for the act, than the supreme power inherent in the estates, can prevent the dissolution of the monarchy on her death. The government then reverts to the same situation in which it was placed at the revolution. The estates are entitled then to declare, or to anticipate at present the declaration of a successor; much more, with the consent of the reigning sovereign, to prescribe future limitations for the vacant throne. That limitations are necessary, nay indispensable for the public security, is obvious from the situation of a Scottish prince on the throne of England, whose prerogative must ever be subservient to the inclination of the court,

" Proceedings of Parl. 1703.

and the interest of the nation in which he resides. While a limited monarch, he must consult the interest of the English parliament; but if absolute, his Scottish prerogative would still be dispensed by the administration of England, to which the ministers for Scotland must submit implicitly, whether to procure or preserve the offices and emoluments of state. Thus it is, as long as the disposal of places belongs to the king of England, that the government is devoted, like a conquered province, to English councils; the interests of Scotland have been uniformly sacrificed, and the nation bribed and betrayed at its own expence. A few votes may dissolve this inglorious servitude; and no alternative remains, but to separate from England under a different successor; unless, by previous limitations, the disposal of all offices, pensions, and places of trust, be transferred to the estates. It is not the prerogative of a Scottish prince, but of an English minister, that is transferred, or more properly an ancient privilege restored to parliament. The resources of the nation will not then be exhausted at the English court, when places and pensions are conferred by the estates. The meetings of parliament will neither be obstructed nor interrupted by English councils, nor its acts deprived of the royal assent; but the grievances of the nation will be redressed by the execution of its own laws. To secure the independence of government is not alone sufficient, except by another limitation, annual elections at Michaelmas, and an annual Parliament, held in winter, prevent the

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the corruption of the estates themselves. But in vain would they provide for the security and independence of the kingdom, unless these and other limitations, under which they shall receive the same successor with England, are supported by arms. If the nation is too poor to sustain a military establishment, let it be remembered that the possession of arms is the proud distinction between a freeman and a slave. To remain unarmed till the queen's death, is to be reduced to servitude; and when the alternative of a separation from England has been once suggested, there is no protection nor safety for Scotland, unless the people are armed ¹².

And against
it.

The opponents of the act of security argued, that the influence of English counsels, which was too visible to be seriously denied, was the unavoidable result of the union of the crowns. The same influence had subsisted ever since the accession; nor was it less necessary to preserve an unity of counsels than a good understanding between the kingdoms, to which much mischief might otherwise accrue, were the measures adopted in Scotland hostile to the interest or tranquillity of England. Nothing but an incorporating union could exempt the Scots from this necessary dependence; but the act of security was calculated to separate, and involve the two nations in an unequal war. When the disposal of all places, civil and military, the nomination of judges,

¹² Proceedings of Parl. 1703. Ridpath's Proceedings of Parl. Fletcher's Speeches.

privy-counsellors, and officers of state, are conferred on parliament, nothing remains for the successor but the name of king. The executive and judicial powers are transferred from the sovereign, the centre of union between the kingdoms, to a committee of estates; and the principle that unites the two kingdoms under the same monarch is thus dissolved. But if the English refuse to communicate a free trade, the Scots must declare for a different successor, whom they are unable either to support with dignity, or, if attacked by England, to maintain upon the throne.

The consequences had neither escaped observation, nor did the country party approve unanimously of the proposed limitations. In these limitations the settlement obtained from Charles I. was revived, that the privy-council and officers of state should be named by the king, with consent of parliament, which was considered then as a full security for the religion and liberties of an independent nation¹³. Whatever are the evils with which it is pregnant, whether it tends to dissolve the union, or to relax the sinews and strength of an empire, we must acknowledge that to preserve the independence or prevent the discontent of an united kingdom, not incorporated under the same legislature, there seems to be no method but to submit the domestic administration to the choice or consent of the estates. That constitutional control on the executive, which the legislative power should possess, is lost wherever the administration is supported by external influence; and to restore an

¹³ Burnet, v. 224.

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equality to parliament, additional limitations are necessary, if not an express consent to the appointment of ministers. Accordingly, the same limitations were first adopted at the treaty of Edinburgh, in the reign of Mary, to preserve the nation from the influence of French councils during her marriage with Francis II.

Royal assent refused.

But the court party were averse to every limitation on the crown. Their opposition was ineffectual; but when the act of security was carried by a majority of fifty-nine votes, the royal assent was expressly refused. A bill was introduced by Marchmont, to establish the succession, under the proposed limitations, in the princess Sophia; but the settlement of the crown was premature, and acceptable to none. The parliament was prolonged in expectation of supplies; and the prohibition against French wines was repealed, to restore the customs. But the members were exasperated at the refusal of the royal assent to the act of security; and on the question, liberty or subsidy, determined, after a fierce and tumultuous debate, to proceed next day to the limitations on the crown. Some denied the authority of the royal negative, introduced since the restoration. Others professed their resolution to die free rather than live slaves, and threatened to assert the privileges of parliament sword in hand¹⁴. "Better," said Fletcher, "that a popish prince should succeed

¹⁴ Lockhart, 57. Boyer's Annals, ii. 57. "We were often in the form of a Polish diet, with our swords in our hands, or at least our hands on our swords." Sir John Clerk's Memoirs, MS.

"to

“to the throne under such limitations as may
 “render the nation free and independent, than
 “the best protestant without limitations. If we
 “live free, it is indifferent to me, provided these
 “limitations are enacted, whether a successor from
 “Hanover or St. Germain be named to the
 “throne.” The commissioner, intimidated by
 their violence, despaired of success, and adjourned
 the parliament without obtaining supplies.

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It was in this parliament that the eloquence of Fletcher of Salton was first distinguished. Fletcher was apparently the early pupil of Burnet; but his virtues were confirmed by mature study, foreign travel, persecution, and exile. When he withdrew from the oppressive government of the duke of York he engaged as a volunteer in the Hungarian wars; and, rather than desert his friend, embarked in Monmouth's unhappy expedition, of which he disapproved. At the revolution he returned with the prince of Orange, whose service he declined when that prince was advanced to the throne. From the study of the ancients, and the observation of modern governments, he had imbibed the principles of a genuine republican. Averse to William's authority as inordinate, he considered the prince as the first and most dangerous magistrate of the state, to be severely restrained, not indulged in the free exercise or abuse of power. His mind was firm and independent, sincere and inflexible in his friendship and resentments, impatient of contradiction, obstinate in his resolves, but unconscious of a sordid motive or ungenerous desire. His countenance and disposition were stern and unaccommodating, however affable to his friends;

Fletcher of
 Salton's
 character.

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but his word was sacred ; his probity was never sullied by the breath of suspicion ; and equally tenacious, and scrupulous in the observance, of every point of honour, his spirit was proverbially brave as the sword he wore¹⁵. His schemes were often eccentric and impracticable ; but his genius was actuated by a sublime enthusiasm, and enriched by an extensive converse with books and men. His eloquence is characterized by a nervous and concise simplicity, always dignified, often sublime ; and his speeches in parliament may be classed among the best and purest specimens of oratory which the age produced¹⁶. His free opinions were confined to no sect in religion, nor party in the state. The love of his country was the ruling passion of his breast, and the uniform principle of his whole life. In a corrupt age, and amidst the violence of contending factions, he appeared a rare example of the most upright and steady integrity, the purest honour, the most disinterested patriotism ; and while the characters of his venal, but more

¹⁵ The same expression is used without communication by Lockhart and Macky ; but the last is peculiarly happy in his character of Fletcher. "He is a gentleman steady in his principles, of nice honour—brave as the sword he wears, and bold as a lion—would lose his life readily to serve his country, and would not do a base thing to save it."

¹⁶ It appears from Sir John Clerk's Memoirs, that Fletcher was not expert at extemporary replies. His speeches, to be distinctly understood, must be read historically, as they refer to the different clauses of the act of security and limitations on the crown. In this view, his *Conversation on Governments*, written to vindicate the proceedings of this session, appears to me to be one of the best specimens of dialogue writing in modern times.

successful

successful competitors are consigned to infamy or oblivion, his memory is revered and cherished as the last of the Scots.

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Scotch plot.

The courts of France and St. Germain's were not inattentive to these transactions. Among other emissaries, Simon Fraser was employed in Scotland; a man of low cunning and assentation, but of a flagitious and desperate character, who claimed the honours and estate of Lovat. He had fled from justice for a rape on the late lord Lovat's widow¹⁷, whom, to secure possession of the estate, he had forced to consummate a pretended marriage; but her brother the marquis of Athol's influence intercepted a pardon. On becoming a proselyte to the catholic religion, his extravagant proposals were embraced and recommended by the exiled queen. He obtained a private interview with Louis, and assured de Torcy, that if five thousand French troops were landed at Dundee, and five hundred at Fort William, the highland chieftains, from whom he was commissioned, would appear in arms with ten thousand men. The assurances of an unknown adventurer were not hastily credited, and he was dismissed with a gratuity to procure credentials from the clans. On his return to Scotland, he

¹⁷ Lovat's Memoirs have been lately published, in which he denies that he ever approached the house where the dowager resided. We may judge of his veracity not only from the trial (Arnot) but from his father's letter to Argyle, (Carstairs, 434.) representing his son as advantageously married to the widow, and both living very happily together. It is amusing to read the pompous accounts of the territories, subjects, and wars of this adventurer, whose whole clan exceeded not seven hundred men.

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1703. was introduced to Queensberry, whom the Jacobites had just deserted in parliament, by Argyle and Leven, whose protection he enjoyed as an useful spy. Tarbet, created earl of Cromarty, Seafield and Athol, had abandoned the court party, though officers of state; and as the last had introduced the act of security, the commissioner listened with avidity to whatever Fraser's invention or resentment suggested. He affirmed that Cromarty, Hamilton and Athol, his personal enemies, were engaged in a clandestine correspondence with the court of St. Germain; and to confirm his information, produced a letter from the exiled queen, which was intended for the duke of Gordon, but directed to Athol by Fraser himself. As the evidence was still defective, he was permitted to range through the highlands in quest of intelligence; and furnished, for the same purpose, with passports and money to return to France. But Ferguson, a more experienced plotter, whom he met in London, discovered and communicated his designs to Athol, who complained loudly to the queen that a fictitious plot was contrived for his destruction. Fraser, on his return to Paris, was imprisoned in the Bastille; but in a few years was restored to liberty, and his services, on the accession of the Hanoverian family, recovered the titles and estate of Lovat. At the age of fourscore he was destined to suffer on the scaffold, for his concern in the last rebellion to restore the Stewarts; but whatever his character or his crimes might be, the humanity of the British government incurred a deep

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a deep reproach, from the execution of an old man on the very verge of the grave¹³.

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The Scotch plot, as it was termed in England, when communicated by the queen to the two houses, excited the most violent disputes. The whigs endeavoured to establish, the Tories to discredit the existence of the plot, which they represented as a political contrivance, devised by Queensberry to ruin his opponents. As some intercepted letters, and the confession of Fraser's associates, seemed to confirm its truth, the house of peers, where the interest of the whigs predominated, declared that a dangerous plot to introduce the pretender had existed in Scotland, to which nothing there had contributed so much as the protestant succession remaining unsettled. But their interference served to obstruct the succession; and from the outcry against a fictitious plot, the removal of the duke of Queensberry became indispensable. The marquis of Tweeddale was appointed commissioner; and as the offices of state were reserved for his numerous friends, the country party were broken and divided by the change. An administration chosen from the popular party was expected to establish the protestant succession, at present the undisguised object of the English court; and the queen, to gratify the spirit of national independence, was persuaded to yield to every limitation on the successor to the crown. But the change was neither so timely nor general as to

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Queens-
berry and
his friends
displaced.

¹³ Lovat's Memoirs. Coll. of Papers concerning the Scotch Plot. Macpherson's Orig. Pap. 1704.

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enable the new ministers, before the session commenced, to acquire a majority in parliament, where the duke of Hamilton was ambitious to preside. Men of approved principles, long accustomed to opposition, are not suddenly reconciled to the measures of court; and the prevailing report, that the administration was still subservient to the English cabinet, was generally believed. A more injurious surmise was entertained, that the queen was secretly adverse to the succession of the house of Hanover, of which she affected to approve. The adherents of the late administration were persuaded that the present was intended only as a temporary change; and, when dismissed from office, Queensberry entered into a compromise with Hamilton, that if no serious inquiry were made into the Scotch plot, his friends should join in opposition to the settlement of the crown¹⁹.

Second
session of
parliament.
July 13.

The administration was certainly unconscious of its own weakness at the commencement of the session, when the protestant succession, which had been delayed so long, was recommended by the queen. The most soothing expressions were employed in her letter; the most specious limitations were proffered by the commissioner; and if national independence were the only object, the nomination of ministers, or rather the supreme power under a protestant successor, might have been transferred to the estates. But it was the interest of the Jacobites to prevent the settlement of the crown; and when Hamilton, to elude the decla-

¹⁹ Burnet, v. 225. Boyer's Annals, iii. 38. Lockhart, 102.
ration

ration of a successor, demanded a previous treaty of commerce with England, the country party were again deluded by the vast prospect of a colonial trade. Ministers represented in vain, that the queen would accede to every constitutional demand; but without the authority of the English parliament, could never dispense with the navigation act, nor admit their shipping to the English plantations. Whatever the opposition had lost by the defection of ministers, was gained by the accession of Queensberry's friends. They inveighed at the late interposition of the English peers in the affairs of Scotland; deplored pathetically the unhappy situation to which the country was reduced; and after the most violent debates, determined, by a large majority, not to appoint a successor till a commercial treaty were obtained with England; but to proceed to previous limitations on the throne. From the profession of those free sentiments which their souls abhorred, the Jacobites were received by the people with unexpected applause; but the resolution designed to obstruct the protestant succession, contrary to their intentions, proved the first step towards an union of the kingdoms ²⁰.

The country party were elated with the triumph. Instead of proceeding to frame limitations, or to appoint commissioners of their own for the treaty, they addressed the queen against the undue interference of the English peers; requested the documents of the plot to be transmitted to the estates, and revived the act of security, which, with some alterations, was conjoined with the supplies to

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Act of security re-
vived,

²⁰ Lockhart, 106—21; and Sir J. Clerk's Notes, MS.

insure

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insure its success. Nothing more was requisite to reduce the administration to extreme distress. The supplies provided by the convention parliament had been long exhausted. A large arrear was incurred to the army, which was unable to subsist without immediate pay. The treasury was notoriously exhausted; and such was the spirit of national independence, that the remittance of pay from England, which it was impossible to conceal, would have excited dangerous tumults, and might have been rejected as a foreign, ignominious subsidy, by the troops themselves. The alternative was unavoidable; to confirm the act of security, or to disband the army; but when the queen was consulted, her English ministers were almost equally perplexed. The act of security, which was pregnant with danger, provided conditionally for a separate successor, and threatened to arm the whole kingdom in his defence. But the danger in disbanding the army was immediate. The disaffected formed a numerous part of the nation; and the discoveries of the late plot excited serious apprehensions of an invasion from France. The highlanders, almost the only part of the nation possessed of arms, were the most disaffected; and, as they might be expected to revolt, the chief argument for arming the people under the act of security operated with additional force against disbanding the troops. The act of security was preferred, as a contingent evil, the inconveniences of which might be removed in time²¹. But Godolphin the

²¹ Burnet, v. 227. Cunningham's Hist. i. 413. Lockhart, 125.

treasurer,

treasurer, whom the queen chiefly consulted, is supposed to have recommended the act from a refined policy, that the English, alarmed at the probable separation of the crowns, might accede with less reluctance to an union of the kingdoms, to preserve the protestant succession and the empire entire ²².

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After a short adjournment, the act of security was accordingly passed. The estates, in return for six monthly assessments, were authorized to meet on the queen's death; and enjoined to declare a successor of the royal line, and the protestant faith; but not the same who should succeed to the throne of England, unless the religion, liberties, and trade of the nation were previously secured ²³. When the princess Sophia and her descendants were thus conditionally excluded, the next prince of the royal line and the protestant faith was Hamilton himself, descended in the seventh generation from a daughter of James II. and from this moment it is supposed that a gleam of distant royalty burst on his mind. The attach-

And passed,

²² "The queen was advised to give her consent to the act, as the most effectual measure to bring about the union, for it so terrified the English that they easily came into it; that thereby the succession might be settled in the House of Hanover, and so all dangers were removed which by this act were threatened. This observation I make from very good authority, and that it was the earl of Godolphin who advised the queen to consent for the above purpose." Sir J. Clerk's Notes on Lockhart's Mem.

²³ The clause relative to the freedom of the plantations was read and voted, but by some artifice omitted in the act. Sir J. Clerk's Memoirs and Hist. of the Union, MS.

ment

ment which he had hitherto maintained towards the exiled family, was shaken, in the opinion of the Jacobites, by the remote and visionary prospect of a throne²⁴. It is certain that his future efforts were not unfrequently relaxed by a secret connivance with the court party; but whatever was ambiguous or irresolute in his conduct, may be more truly ascribed to some selfish motive of interest or revenge. Rather than communicate to Queensberry and Seafield a personal share in the treaty with England, he refused to concur with their friends in appointing commissioners; and the opportunity to secure the nomination of his own party before the parliament adjourned, was irretrievably lost²⁵.

Its effects
in England.

The English, when apprized of the act of security, were alarmed and roused from their profound indifference towards the Scots. It was considered rather as an act of exclusion, for the separation of the kingdoms; and as every fencible man was ordained to be armed and disciplined, by the landlord or magistrate, the most lively apprehensions were excited in England. A separate succession was the least danger to be apprehended. The Scots were poor and discontented, and to their opulent neighbours, if suffered to arm, would become the more formidable from their poverty and discontent. The most extravagant reports

²⁴ Macpherson's Hist. ii. 359. Hooke's Negotiations.

²⁵ Lockhart, 127. Had he and Athol consented to admit Queensberry and Seafield, they might have secured twenty-two out of the twenty-four commissioners.

were propagated, of vast quantities of ammunition and arms procured from the continent ; and as these appeared irreconcilable with their poverty, the assistance of foreign powers was the more firmly believed. The alarm was industriously increased by the tories, for the removal of Godolphin ; while factious writers, to exasperate the nations, asserted the obsolete and exploded supremacy of England over the Scottish crown, and proposed the reduction of the kingdom by force of arms. The wiser part of the English had little apprehension that the Scots would persist in their act of security, or that they could subsist, after the intercourse of a century, as an independent kingdom, under a separate monarchy, unconnected with England. But the danger of a disputed succession was obvious, if the crown remained unsettled till the queen's death. The pretender recalled by his adherents, if their violence prevailed in Scotland, would enter England with foreign auxiliaries, and renew the destructive alliance and incursions of the French and Scots. The transactions of the civil wars were not yet forgotten ; and the Scots, from their vicinity to the coal counties, might acquire in a few days the command of the capital. But the wiser part of their nation deprecated an event which would revive the scenes of the grand rebellion, and unless the pretender were seated in both kingdoms, expose their country to a second conquest, at a time when the arms of England were every where victorious, and never more formidable when directed by Cromwell. Moderate men of each nation were desirous of a permanent remedy for these evils ;
and

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Acts against
the Scots.

and the purpose of the act of security, from the opportune alarm which it excited, was already partly accomplished, inasmuch as it inclined the English to assent to the demands of the Scots²⁶.

An inquiry was first introduced in the house of peers, to discover by whose advice the act of security had obtained the queen's assent. As the absence of morals, in a refined and dissolute age, is supplied by a fastidious affectation of sentimental delicacy; so at a time when the influence of the English cabinet was never more conspicuous, nor more predominant, the inquiry was plausibly opposed, as an irregular interference, which might provoke the jealous indignation of the Scots. More moderate, yet compulsive, measures were recommended. The queen was empowered to appoint commissioners for an union of the kingdoms; but the Scots were declared aliens, if their parliament should neither accede to a treaty nor adopt the Hanoverian succession within a year. The importation of their cattle and linen was conditionally prohibited. Cruisers were appointed to intercept their trade, and prevent the exportation of their wool to France. An address to repair and garrison the fortifications of Berwick, Carlisle, Newcastle, and Hull, was presented to the queen. Regular forces were quartered on the borders; and as if the Scots were already in arms, the six northern counties were exhorted to prepare for defence²⁷. Conciliatory were thus intermixed

²⁶ Burnet, v. 230. Sir J. Clerk's Observations on the State of Scotland, MS.

²⁷ Boyer. Burnet.

with compulsive measures; but there was reason to apprehend that these would rather exasperate than intimidate or reconcile the Scots to an union.

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1705

Execution
of Green.

An incident occurred, from which national animosities were mutually inflamed. An English interloper, returning round the north of Scotland from the East Indies, was seized at the instance of the Darien company, as a reprisal for a ship which the East India company had confiscated in the Thames. From some unguarded expressions of the seamen, suspicions arose that they had captured another vessel sent by the Darien company to the East Indies, and murdered the captain with his whole crew. They obtained a legal if not an impartial trial. Their captain and thirteen seamen were condemned to death for piracy and murder, on the evidence of a single black, corroborated however by presumptive circumstances; but there was no proof that it was the company's ship which they took, or its crew whom they massacred. On the day of execution, the populace, apprehensive of being defrauded of their revenge, surrounded and threatened to force the prison, insulted the privy-council, pursued and endangered the chancellor's life, nor were pacified till the sentence was inflicted on Green the captain and two of his crew. The rest, after a long imprisonment, were dismissed, as the evidence was considered as defective. But the rage and insults of the populace were productive of the keenest resentment in England; the sentence and execution of Green were ascribed to national animosities; and the antipathy, mutually kindled, admonished

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Change of
administration.

admonished government that an accommodation between the two kingdoms should no longer be deferred²⁸.

The feeble administration of Tweeddale was therefore dissolved, and Queensberry restored with his friends to office. As his conduct in the late plot was still exposed to inquiry, the duke of Argyle, a young, ambitious soldier of the most promising expectations, was appointed commissioner to parliament, with instructions to establish the same protestant succession as in England; or, if that should be found impracticable, at least to procure an act for a treaty of union. A treaty with England was a popular and indefinite measure which it was difficult openly to oppose; and if some were desirous to introduce the succession indirectly, by a previous union, others expected that the treaty would be prolonged for years, and the succession deferred. But the settlement of the crown was a question of which the event was the more doubtful, as the late ministers, who refused to adhere to the opposition that deserted, or to the court that dismissed them, formed a distinct party, which acquired the cant name of the *Squadroné Volanté*, and affected to trim between, and incline the balance to either side.

Squadroné
party.Third session of
parliament.

Soon after the session commenced, the duke of Hamilton resumed his motion, that the succession should be deferred till a commercial treaty were

²⁸ Green's Trial. Arnot's Criminal Trials. Sir J. Clerk's Hist. MS.

concluded

concluded with England, and the independence of the nation secured by proper limitations on the crown. His motion was carried, as formerly, by the aid of Queensberry's friends; and as no means remained but an union, for the settlement of the crown, the Jacobites became unconsciously accessory to that event. They proceeded to frame limitations, to fetter, if unable to prevent, the succession of the House of Hanover. On Queensberry's arrival they were deserted by his friends; but the squadrone party concurred in an act that the judges, privy-counsellors, and officers of state, should be named in parliament after her majesty's decease. Ambassadors were ordained, by another bill, to attend and provide for the interest of Scotland in foreign treaties, wherein the country had been uniformly overlooked and neglected since the union of the crowns. A third was passed for triennial parliaments, which the court party endeavoured to suspend till the queen's death; and the Jacobites, apprehensive of their own seats, consented, in an act to abridge the duration of parliaments, to prolong the present for three additional years. But these acts never obtained the royal assent²⁹.

The treaty with England, for which the settlement of the crown had been thus postponed, was resumed on the motion of the earl of Mar. The Jacobites concurred in a popular measure, suggested by themselves to retard the succession; but endeavoured to limit, and frustrate a treaty which was neither intended nor expected to succeed.

Act for a
treaty

²⁹ Lockhart, 145.

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The duke of Hamilton moved, "that the union should no wise derogate from any fundamental laws, ancient privileges, offices, rights, liberties, or dignities of the nation." On former occasions, the same resolution had been invariably employed to prevent an union; but in popular assemblies it is the ostensible, rather than the real motives of parties that are discovered in their debates. The ministers durst not oppose the clause as inconsistent with an union, nor the opposition avow their design to obstruct its success. The former resisted the motion as expressive of an undue distrust of the queen, inconsistent with those ample powers which the English parliament had conferred on her commissioners. The latter maintained that some things were too sacred to become the subject of a treaty; that the preservation of their national independence was the more necessary, from the present influence of English councils, and should neither offend the queen, from her absence lest acquainted with their constitution and interests, nor the English parliament, by whom the government of the church was expressly reserved. The question was decisive of the intended union; but by the absence of some, and the defection particularly of the old earl of Aberdeen, the motion was rejected by a majority of two votes. Another clause was proposed by Athol, that the commissioners should neither leave the kingdom nor engage in a treaty, till the acts declaring the Scots aliens, and their trade illicit, were repealed in England. The Jacobites expected that the obstinacy of the English parliament might frustrate

an union; and Fletcher, ever independent in his conduct, opposed the treaty as ignominious, unless those hostile laws were previously repealed. But the motion was artfully evaded by an address to the queen, to procure a repeal of the acts before the treaty was suffered to commence³⁰.

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The last hopes of the country party were placed in the choice of commissioners, which Hamilton, in the former session, had neglected to secure. The question was of the highest importance to the kingdom. If appointed by parliament, the commissioners might frustrate or retard an union; if selected by the queen, the interest of the country might be betrayed to England; and so sensible was the English parliament of this advantage, that the Scots, although they should accede to an union, were to be reputed aliens unless the queen were entrusted with the choice of commissioners. When the members, wearied with the preceding debates, had begun to retire, Hamilton, acting in secret concert with Queensberry, proposed unexpectedly, at a late hour of the night, that the nomination of commissioners should be referred to the queen. His motives were sufficiently obvious to his friends. From the late frequent creations, a majority of the peers were devoted to the crown. Apprehensive of being rejected by his own order, if the commissioners were chosen by their respective estates, he was content to sacrifice the interests of his party to a fallacious assurance of obtaining a personal share in the treaty, if the queen were empowered to appoint the commissioners. His party

Of union
with Eng-
land.

³⁰ Lockhart, 154. Minutes of Parliament.

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were struck with consternation. Some abandoned the house in despair and rage, exclaiming that it was in vain to stay where they were deserted and betrayed. Others retorted his own arguments, that to leave the nomination to the queen, what was it else than to surrender their country to the English cabinet, whom it enabled to appoint commissioners for both kingdoms, and to dictate their own terms to Scotland? The court party, instead of answering their arguments, persisted in a vote. From the absence or defection of their members, the queen was empowered, by a slender majority of eight votes, to appoint commissioners for a treaty of union, with the reservation of the government and worship of the established church. Nothing remained for opposition but an unavailing protest; and Argyle returned, with the credit of having surmounted and broken the factions in parliament, by a prudent management, unexpected from his years³¹.

State of the
country.

It may be necessary, nor unacceptable, perhaps, at the present conjuncture, to give a short explanation of the situation of the country, and the motives of statesmen, previous to an incorporating union with England. The dependence of government on the English cabinet, however necessary or unavoidable, was a just complaint. The parliament, not unfrequently directed by its in-

³¹ Lockhart. Clerk's Memoirs, MS. Cunningham's Hist. i. 425. From the protests of the country party, including the Equadrone, it appears that they consisted of twenty-five peers, thirty-five barons, eighteen burgesses, who were present in the former vote.

fluence, was never assembled except to grant supplies. The privy-council, however arbitrary, from the interposition of parliament had become comparatively mild, and was calculated to preserve a decent appearance of civil authority and the public peace. The treasury and exchequer were exhausted under the management of rapacious statesmen. Trade was too inconsiderable to furnish a revenue adequate to the necessities of the state. The exportation of wool had been prohibited, as injurious to those coarse and infant manufactures which were insufficient for its consumption; but was again permitted in opposition to England, as one of the principal articles of foreign trade. Linen, the next article of exportation, was discredited by frauds; the introduction of cattle and sheep into England was conditionally prohibited; and the remaining articles of exportation were worsted stockings, a late manufacture, corn, hides, and the produce of the fisheries and the mines. The shipping that appeared in the harbours were mostly Dutch²². French wines, Dutch goods, flax, lintseed, silk, and English cloths, were imported in return; but as these were mostly articles of domestic consumption, the scarcity of money was ascribed to a small annual

²² The shipping of Scotland is supposed to have increased from 215 vessels or 14,485 tons, prior to the union, to 1123 ships or 50,232 tons before the year 1712. But the Scots, instead of employing Dutch ships as formerly, were obliged, by the navigation act, to procure ships of their own. The increase of shipping, otherwise incredible, argues no proportionable increase of their former trade. Chalmers's Estimate, 201. 8vo.

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loss on the balance of trade. Law, the author of the Mississippi scheme, proposed to remedy the supposed scarcity, by the institution of a national bank, to issue notes, to an unlimited amount, for security on land; but the committee of trade, to whom it was referred by parliament, had the good sense to reject a project which was afterwards introduced into France with the most pernicious effects. But the scarcity of money was an exaggerated complaint. Notwithstanding the losses of the Darien company, the gold and silver in circulation amounted almost to a million sterling; a sum unequal, perhaps, to the visionary schemes and demands of projectors, but sufficient to employ whatever industry the nation possessed³³. The decline of credit, and the improper application of the capital, were more severely felt. The landlord generally aspired to the peerage; the merchant who had acquired an inconsiderable capital, the pedlar who returned with a small stock from abroad, hastened to sink their money in the purchase of lands; and their funds were invariably withdrawn from trade, or the support of industry, as their sons were educated either lawyers or divines³⁴. But the scarcity of money was ascribed

³³ Ruddiman's Pref. to Anderson's *Diplomata*. Sir J. Clerk's Testamentary Mem. MS.; Observations on the State of Scotland before the Union, MS.

³⁴ Advantages of an Incorporating Union, 5. 12. Interest of Scotland, in three Essays, by Seton of Pitmeddan, p. 75. The Scotch pedlars in England were computed at 2500, whose packs of linen and lace were worth from one to two hundred pounds sterling. Right of Succession, 3. 37.

to the want of a proper market for the produce of the country, which, if once admitted into the English colonies, might be exchanged for commodities fit for exportation, more beneficial than articles of mere consumption. A commercial alliance, and a federal union with England, under separate parliaments, like that of the Dutch states or the Swiss cantons, were impatiently solicited; and the settlement of the crown on the House of Hanover was considered as an ample recompence for a communication of trade. From the former instability of their church, the presbyterians were sincerely attached to the protestant succession; and the Jacobites alone, who had increased considerably during the present reign, were averse to an union, from the advantage which the whigs acquired in the settlement of the crown³⁵.

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But the nation was not more desirous of a federal, than from the implied surrender of its legislature, revenues and ancient independence, averse to an entire and incorporating union, to which the statesmen in each kingdom extended their views. Godolphin, from whatever motives of policy or necessity, had procured the queen's assent to the act of security, which it was requisite now to remove; and were we to believe his enemies, an union was proposed to preserve the prime minister of England from impeachment. His influence had failed to establish the protestant succession, which, even when adopted, would remain insecure, while a separate parliament on which the Jacobites might operate, existed in

Motives of
statesmen.Of Godol-
phin.

³⁵ Sir J. Clerk's Observations, MS.

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Of the
Whigs.Proposed
advantages
of an union
to Scotland.

Scotland. An incorporating union comprehended the succession, and would annex that kingdom to England for ever. From an obvious maxim, that one parliament was more easily managed than two, it was equally the interest of the English parliament to extend and perpetuate its influence in Scotland, and the policy of the minister to simplify the complicated operations of government. But the advantages of an incorporating union to England, were the additional empire, population, power, and above all, the internal and profound security which it promised amidst external wars. To the whigs it was recommended by nobler arguments; the danger which the liberties of each nation might incur, under an ambitious prince, from a divided state; and the uniform policy of the Stewarts to render the one instrumental in enslaving the other, was still present to their minds. To the nation in general it was recommended as an adequate and necessary security for the protestant succession, and a real accession of territory and strength. A fairer opportunity might never occur, to prevent the danger of future dissensions, and a renewal of the destructive hostilities of former times. From the victorious career of the English arms, the war itself was propitious to an union; nor was the queen insensible to the glory of achieving what the most illustrious of her predecessors had attempted in vain.

The same security was promised to each kingdom against a faction dangerous to its internal repose. The gradual approximation of the Scots, during the preceding century, towards the language and manners of the English, had already fitted

fitted and prepared them for an union ; and although their ecclesiastical institutions were different, ecclesiastical conformity was no longer the subject or the source of national solicitude and misery ; and religion itself had begun to be disregarded for commercial pursuits. A free trade promised to relieve their poverty, and invigorate their industry ; and if it were insufficient to retain at home, the adventurers who still continued to overspread the continent, the English service and plantations presented a wide field for the most enterprising ambition. The admission of the Scots to a free constitution, more nicely balanced and better than their own ; endued with that venerable stability which time alone can confer on governments, might dispel the factious turbulence of the nation ; prevent the danger of relapsing into despotism, as in the preceding reigns ; introduce a purer administration of justice ; and dissolve the rigours of the feudal system, which still prevailed. The immediate advantages of the union, however, were the introduction of their cattle and linen into the English market, free from imposts, from which a capital might at length be accumulated for trade and the improvement of land. But a proportion of the stock and trade of England was vainly expected to migrate to the north, and establish manufactures, emancipate the peasant from his oppressive landlord, encrease the produce and the value of estates, and supplant the Dutch in the herring fishery, which a poor nation, whose inconsiderable capital requires an exuberant profit, is seldom able to prosecute with success. Apprehensive, perhaps, of the same consequence, the removal of manufactures,

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Real mo-
tives of its
ministers.

factures, the English cabinet was determined never to admit the Scots to a commercial intercourse, without an incorporating union in return; lest the nation should disunite, and separate from England, when enriched by its trade³⁶.

But whatever national advantages were proposed or expected, to resign the treasury, honours, emoluments, and the entire administration of the kingdom for ever, was a sacrifice hardly to be expected from the most disinterested, much less from the venal statesmen whom Scotland produced. It is not solely from the ostensible benefits proposed for their country that their motives are to be appreciated, but from the secret advantages procured for themselves. Their stability was doubly dependent, first on the duration of parties in the English cabinet; then on the management of the Scottish parliament, which was always precarious, and not unfrequently productive of a change of administration. Queensberry and his friends had been dismissed from office; the earl of Stair was proscribed by the public hatred. Wearied with the vicissitude of parties, which each minister had alternately experienced, they expected greater stability from the English cabinet, when relieved by an incorporating union from their present dependence on the Scottish parliament. The whigs in England, with which Queensberry was united, appeared to be firmly established in power. If permitted to govern by means of the privy-council, without a parliament, whose

³⁶ Carstairs's State Papers, 743. Essays at removing national prejudices, by De Foe. Letter on the reception of the Treaty of Union, by Sir J. Clerk.

control is odious to every administration, his authority might be equally prolonged with theirs. All opposition would be extinguished with parliament³⁷; and if the chief offices of state were preserved, whatever was lost by his friends in the disposal of honours, or in the management of an exhausted treasury, was of little value when compared with the vast prospects that opened to their ambition in England. Instead of the paltry objects of domestic faction, they might expect a share of the great prizes dispensed from the state lottery of English politics, with a certainty proportioned to their means of success. A profuse distribution of titles, to create an interest in parliament, had sunk and degraded the ancient nobility; but an hereditary or elective seat in the English parliament, was a distinguished honour, to which few could aspire. Whatever share of representation were acquired by Scotland, its members would form a distinct party, attached to its minister; and from the interest thus introduced into the English parliament, might perpetuate his credit with the English minister, and secure the most extensive preferment to himself and his friends. An incorporating union was therefore embraced, not only to render their authority permanent at home, but with a more ambitious design, from the united interest of Scotland, to acquire a numerous party in the English parliament.

Such were the secret motives of Argyle and Queensberry, to whom, in conjunction with Godolphin, the choice of commissioners was re-

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Commissioners for
the Union.

³⁷ Carstairs, 738.

ferred

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ferred by the queen. But the conditional acts, declaring the Scots aliens, and prohibiting their trade with England, were first repealed. The marquis of Annandale proving refractory, was dismissed from office, and replaced by Mar as secretary of state; a nobleman zealous for the union and protestant succession, but at a future period hostile to both. Thirty-one commissioners for each kingdom were then appointed to meet in London; but the subsequent treaty evinced, in the most important articles, that the English cabinet, in consequence of the queen's nomination, was enabled to prescribe its own terms to the Scots. Their commissioners were chosen with an artful intermixture of each party, that their concurrence in the union, which was previously secured, might abate the opposition of their friends in parliament ²⁸.

Treaty begun.

When the commissioners met at the cockpit, the first proposal was made by the English, that the two kingdoms should be united into one, by the name of Great Britain, under the same legislature and line of succession, according to an act passed in England for the limitation of the crowns. The Scots requested a short delay; and from the preference of an incorporating to a federal union, the noblest, and apparently the most disinterested and specious objects of public utility, coincided with the

²⁸ Burnet, Sir J. Clerk's Hist. MS; Observations on Lockhart, MS. Lockhart, the only professed Jacobite, was named as lord Wharton's nephew, of whom there were some hopes. Cockburn of Ormiston, Dundas of Arncliffe, had belonged to the squadrons; Seton of Pitmeddan, and others, to the country party: but the duke of Hamilton was industriously excluded.

fordid schemes of a few ambitious statesmen³⁹. Sensible, however, that their nation, averse to an incorporating union, was desirous only of a communication of trade, they determined to make one overture, to convince the people that they did not acquiesce precipitately in whatever terms the English prescribed. They proposed that the same succession should be established in both kingdoms, and that the subjects of each should be admitted in the other to all the privileges and rights of natives, and to a free intercourse, and full communication, of navigation and trade. But an intimation at the same time was given, that an incorporating union was not thereby rejected; and the English declined the consideration of a proposal obviously not intended to succeed. Among the Scottish commissioners some proposed, in their private consultations, to renew their demand at the next meeting; that if the English remained inflexible, they might recede, themselves, with the less disgrace. Whether to adopt a federal, or incorporating union was no part of the question, but how to yield; and not to interrupt the treaty, it was determined that their concurrence should no longer be deferred. Their assent to an entire, and incorporating union, under the same legislature and line of succession, was attended, of course, with a reciprocal communication of the rights of citizens and a free trade⁴⁰.

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An incorporating union preferred.

But an incorporating union required mutual contributions; a participation of commerce implied

Equalizing taxes.

³⁹ Sir J. Clerk's Hist. MS.; Letter on the reception of the Union.

⁴⁰ Sir J. Clerk's Hist. Journal of the Treaty, MS. Observations on Lockhart, p. 206. De Foe's Hist. 118.

equalizing

equalizing taxes; otherwise there was some reason to apprehend, that the manufactures and trade of England might be transferred to the north. The subject in every respect was important and difficult. To submit to the same imposts with England was unavoidable; but there were some which the poverty or impatience of the Scots was unable to sustain. When the finances of each state were examined, their commissioners were astonished at an immense, and increasing debt of eighteen millions, which was deemed not less enormous then, than insignificant at present, and little more than sufficient to defray the annual interest of our national debt. They were consoled, however, by the revenues of England, almost six millions, which promised, by the frugality of a few years of peace, to extinguish the national debt, however large its amount⁴¹. Their own revenues, which scarcely exceeded an hundred and ten or twenty thousand pounds, consisted of six monthly assessments, or a land-tax of thirty-six thousand pounds; sixty-three thousand pounds, for which the customs and excise were farmed; and the crown rents and incidents of a precarious amount. These considerable revenues were neither anticipated nor appropriated to the public debts; and might be expected to increase when the same taxes were imposed as in England. But the Scottish parliament never would have submitted to the same land-tax, which, as the valued and real rents of estates had varied much less than in England, since the usurp-

Land-tax.

⁴¹ Sir J. Clerk's Hist. MS. The funded debt amounted to 17,763,842 l. but with the unfunded debt it was supposed to exceed 20,000,000 l.

ation,

ation, would have more nearly amounted, at four shillings in the pound, to a fifth part of the actual rent⁴². A new valuation was acceptable to neither kingdom. A proportional equality was therefore adopted, according to the highest rates established in each. When the land-tax in England was at four shillings in the pound, the proportion fixed for Scotland, at the rate of two month's assessment for each shilling, was forty-eight thousand pounds, as the utmost ever granted in preceding reigns. In assenting to the same imposts, the Scottish commissioners applied, through every avenue, to obtain an exemption from the excise in ale. The English were tenacious of their general argument, that without equalizing taxes, the manufactures of a poor nation, where subsistence was of a cheap and inferior quality, would be produced at a cheaper rate, to the detriment of theirs. A distinction was discovered and reserved by the Scots, to relieve their ale from the English excise⁴³; but they were careful to stipulate for an exemption from stamps, and the taxes on coals, windows, births, burials, and marriages, as oppressive or vexatious, that expired at farthest within four years. The taxes on malt and salt, from which they demanded a perpetual exemption, excited the chief dispute. The former subsisted from year to year; the latter was to be suspended in Scotland for seven years; and they acquiesced in a temporary exemption from both, on the assurance that a British parliament could have no tempta-

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Excise.

⁴² De Foe's Hist. 129. Essays at removing national prejudices, ii. p. 14.

⁴³ Clerk's Hist.

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tion to impose on the kingdom when united, an unnecessary, or oppressive burden which it was unable to sustain⁴⁴. But the customs and excise of England were partly anticipated, or appropriated for some years to the public creditor; and an equivalent was proposed in money, for the application of the Scottish revenues to the national debt. As the same imposts required the same laws with England, for the regulation of trade, a new court of exchequer was necessary for questions of revenue; but the courts of session and judiciary were preserved entire. *Heritable* jurisdictions and offices were reserved; and the privy-council, for which it was impossible directly to stipulate, was referred to the queen, to be continued till altered by the British parliament.

Representa-
tion.

While the equivalent remained to be calculated, the English proposed, as a full and adequate representation, that thirty-eight members should be returned from Scotland to the united parliament. The Scots entertained no hope that the English would consent to diminish the number of their own representatives; much less that the whole parliament of Scotland would be conjoined with theirs. But an ignominious proposal to admit scarcely a fifth part of its representatives to the English parliament, excited a loud and indignant burst of surprise⁴⁵. Four days were spent in private consultations before a conference was demanded. Under the pretext of guarding against national animosities, the treaty hitherto had been

⁴⁴ Clerk's Hist. De Foe's Hist. 137.

⁴⁵ *Ingenti fremitu ac indignatione.* Sir J. Clerk's Hist. Imperii Britannici, MS.

conducted

conducted in writing, to prevent public or free discussion; and the English apprehensive of mutual altercation, were still averse to a conference which it was impossible to decline. They maintained that some proportion was to be observed between the share of legislature and the burdens of government, but that the Scots, who were to contribute less than a fortieth part of the land tax, would obtain a thirteenth part of the representation in return. They were told that population, not wealth, was the basis of representation; that the Scots, whose contributions to government might be expected to increase, amounted at least to a sixth part of the inhabitants of Britain; but that regard should also be paid to their dignity, as an ancient nation proud of their independence, which they would never surrender to be degraded by a representation less than that of a single county in England⁴⁶. Sixty-six members from Scotland, without any detriment to the English parliament, would have furnished an adequate representation for each county and county town. The commissioners were desirous of sixty, which they durst not,

⁴⁶ The population of England did not exceed six millions; that of Scotland, exaggerated by De Foe to two millions, was estimated by Seton of Pitmeddan at 800,000 before the Union. Three Essays. But the population of Scotland in 1755 amounted to 1,265,380. At present it is 1,526,692. A population of 800,000 at the union supposes an increase of 465,000 in fifty years; whereas, during forty years of far greater prosperity, the increase was only 261,000. At the union, therefore, the population of Scotland was probably a million, of which Fletcher supposes that two hundred thousand were common beggars; as if there was provender for such a number.

from their servile apprehensions of a refusal, propose⁴⁷. A greater proportion was absolutely necessary, not merely to gratify the ambition of Scottish statesmen, but to render the union less unacceptable to the Scottish parliament; nor was Godolphin indifferent, perhaps, to an accession of members that strengthened the influence possessed by the crown. Whatever latent jealousy of the court was entertained by the whigs, it appears that lord Somers, the chief author of the plan of union, was careful not to admit a number from Scotland sufficient to create a national faction in the English parliament. From a thirteenth its representation was cautiously enlarged to a twelfth part of the united parliament, as a medium, perhaps, between the different proportions of population and supplies. To obviate every obstruction to an union, the English proposed that forty-five members should be admitted, *and no more*, to the house of commons; and as the same proportion was necessary among the lords, that the quota for Scotland should be sixteen peers⁴⁸. The Scottish commissioners, after three days spent in useless consultation, received a private intimation that it was in vain to deliberate; that they must determine either to interrupt the treaty, perhaps for ever, or to submit implicitly to the conditions prescribed. Some proposed to

⁴⁷ Sir J. Clerk's Journal of the Treaty, MS.

⁴⁸ The proportions seem to have been adjusted thus :

| | | | |
|------------|-------|-----------|-------|
| Commoners, | 513 | Peers, | 185 |
| | 45 | | 16 |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| 45)558(12 | | 16)291(12 | |
| 8 | | 9 | |

refer the share of representation to the estates; but Godolphin interposed to dissuade a measure which might disappoint the union; and as the question remained entire for parliament, the commissioners were induced, by the authority of their statesmen, not to frustrate the treaty by the refusal of their assent ⁴⁹.

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Above two thirds of the representatives of Scotland were thus excluded; not above a tenth part of its nobility was admitted to parliament ⁵⁰: but it may be difficult to conceive by what arguments such commissioners as were peers, were persuaded to relinquish their hereditary seats, the most distinguished privilege attached to their rank. The prospect of an exclusive seat for sixteen in the British parliament, might gratify the prime nobility, whom it promised to aggrandize in the same proportion that the rest were degraded. The decayed nobility might rest satisfied with the other privileges of British peers; of which an exemption from personal arrest was not the least considerable. But the commissioners were secretly assured that a temporary disproportion would be removed by prerogative. Argyle's success in the last session of parliament was rewarded with an English peerage, both as an earnest and example to others; and the commissioners who were peers, acquiesced in the queen's promise, confirmed by her ministers, that they should be advanced themselves to the same dignity, to which the whole nobility of Scot-

Motives of
the peers.

⁴⁹ Sir J. Clerk's Hist.

⁵⁰ The Commons in the Scottish parliament were 160, the peers 145.

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land might be admitted in time. To avoid an invidious opposition to the court, the earls of Sutherland and Roseberry, the most incredulous or obstinate, were content to yield³¹; and when the commissioners forbore in their answers, to insist for a larger proportion in either house, little doubt can be entertained that the interests of their country were commuted for objects advantageous to themselves.

Equivalent. But the success of the union was expected from the proper application of the equivalent; the amount of which was computed at three hundred and ninety-eight thousand pounds, to be paid by England, for the customs and excise of Scotland, in as far as these were appropriated towards the discharge of its national debt³². A capital was thus proposed to be transferred to Scotland for the prosecution of trade. At the same time, nothing would be lost to England, as the loan would be restored with interest, in fifteen years. The public debts, which consisted chiefly of arrears, were to be discharged by the equivalent; and the Darien stock, which had sunk so low that it was considered as lost, was to be repaid with interest,

³¹ Sir J. Clerk's Hist.

³² According to the application of the same duties in England, £1,874*l.* appropriated to annuities that expired in 1701, were estimated at 68,931*l.* The sum of 21,823*l.* was appropriated to annuities for ninety-nine years, and, at fifteen years' purchase, estimated at 329,154*l.* The rest of the customs and excise were applied proportionably with the English, to the civil list and national expence. Minutes of the Treaty. Essay on the 15th Article, by Sir J. Clerk.

and

and the company dissolved. But the distribution of the equivalent among the discarded statesmen, and families involved in the Darien company, was left undetermined, to create the greater expectation and influence in parliament³³. The surplus was applied to reduce or restore the coin to the English standard; the increase of the revenue from the additional duties introduced by an union, was bestowed for seven years on fisheries, manufactures, and other objects of national improvement. The same weights and measures were appointed, and the same seal for public transactions. The laws of Scotland, respecting public and private rights, were preserved, with this difference, that the former might be reduced to an uniformity through the united kingdom, but the latter were to receive no alteration except for the evident utility of the subject. Religion was the only subject reserved from the treaty; and when the conditions were digested into twenty-nine articles, for the consideration of each parliament, the first of May, in the succeeding year, was the day prefixed for the commencement of the union.

The articles were kept a profound secret, to prevent opposition; and to secure the approbation of the Scottish parliament, we may believe that every preparation was made³⁴. The military, as well as the civil establishment, was rendered subservient to parliamentary interest; but the chief

Queen-
berry high
commis-
sioner.

³³ De Foe's Hist. 153—80. Darien stock sold even after the treaty at 10 *per Cent*.

³⁴ See NOTE VI.

reliance was placed in Queensberry the commissioner's influence and address. His disposition and manners were mild, affable, and insinuating; peculiarly adapted to conciliate adherents; and if incapable of steady application to business, he was prudent, cool, enterprising, and resolute; careless or rather lavish of money, and expert in all the arts and intrigues of court. His possessions were extensive, and his connexions numerous and powerful in either kingdom. A long residence at the English court had eradicated his national attachment to Scotland; and he was instigated both by ambition and resentment, to perpetuate his own power by an union, and extinguish the hopes of the Jacobites, and the interest of the country party, by whom he had been formerly deserted and displaced. By the intervention of Mar, he procured a secret intercourse with the duke of Hamilton, whom he knew how to dissuade, or intimidate, from the most important designs. But the balance in parliament was retained by the Squadrone, on whom the success of the union depended; and the strongest proof of his talents and address is the support which he derived from a hostile party, recently supplanted in power, who detested and were impatient to supplant him in return⁵⁵.

Public apprehensions
and suspensions.
penf.

While the articles were industriously concealed, the nation remained in a state of silent expectation; not averse to a federal union, yet suspicious of a treaty which the commissioners were afraid or ashamed to divulge. The Jacobites alone were

⁵⁵ Sir J. Clerk's Hist. MS.; Notes on Lockhart.

alarmed

alarmed at the settlement of the crown. It is not sufficient to affirm that their measures had miscarried: every measure which they adopted, had contributed, by a strange fatality, to counteract their designs. The outcry excited at the loss of Darien had terminated in the act of security, which rendered an union equally necessary and acceptable to England. The settlement of the crown under every limitation, was deferred till a commercial treaty were obtained with England; and thus they were accessary themselves to the introduction of a treaty productive of an union, and of the protestant succession which it was meant to retard. In the present extremity they implored the aid of the French court; but its finances were reduced so low by the recent victories of the allies at Ramillies and Turin, that no supplies could be spared to support an inconsiderable party in Scotland³⁶.

Such were the apprehensions and suspense of the nation, when, in October, the concluding session of its last parliament was held. The advantages of an entire union were recommended by the queen, whose letter was enforced, as usual, by the commissioner's speech. When the treaty was produced and read, the parliament adjourned for a few days till the articles were printed. But the treaty was no sooner published, than the passions and apprehensions of the people, soothed and retained so long in a state of painful suspense, burst into an universal outcry against the union, which excited nothing but disapprobation and undisguised disgust.

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1706.

October 13.
Session of
parliament.

Alarm at the
union.

³⁶ Sir J. Clerk's Notes on Lockhart, 297.

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Innumerable pamphlets and letters of exhortation diffused the agitation of the capital to the remotest corners ; but it is in vain to ascribe to these treatises, or to the arts of a clamorous faction, the universal indignation which the union produced. The presbyterians trembled for the safety of their church, from the influence of prelates in the English parliament ; the episcopal party despaired of restoring theirs, if the presbyterian church were confirmed by an union ; the poor were apprehensive of an excise on the necessaries of life ; the merchants, of English imposts equivalent to a prohibition of their present trade. All ranks and distinctions were alarmed at the surrender of the independence and sovereignty of an ancient kingdom ; and in the most opposite parties and descriptions of men, national pride and patriotism, the passions that cling to the heart, and attach us the closest to the poorest country, were roused and agitated by those shadowy rights. So strong and irresistible were these passions, that if a few, wearied of the vicissitudes of faction, or allured by the prospect of repose and prosperity, escaped their influence, a vast majority of the people was visibly averse to an incorporating union, which multitudes rushed to the capital to oppose : others, too remote, or unable to attend, prepared addresses against an union ; nor was a measure the most beneficial to Scotland expected to succeed, in opposition to the united voice and sense of the people ⁵⁷.

Notwith-

⁵⁷ De Foe, 219. Sir J. Clerk's Hist. MS. Notes on Lockhart, 215. De Foe was employed in Scotland by Godolphin or Harley,

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XI.1706.
Articles of
union ex-
amined.

Notwithstanding the unpopular reception of the treaty, the articles were again read, and deliberately considered, when the parliament was resumed. A short delay was proposed by the opposition, to consult their constituents, without whose consent, they affirmed that the parliament had no authority to innovate, much less to overturn, or, like their private, patrimonial fortunes, to dispose of a constitution which they were created to preserve. A new parliament, summoned for the purpose, was the constitutional and proper test of the public opinion; not a parliament which had subsisted so long; whose members, chosen originally with no view towards an union, had become obnoxious to suspicion, from the distribution of places, pensions, preferments, and bribes. If not a new parliament, they concluded that the approbation of their constituents should at least be consulted, to render the union acceptable to the nation, or honourable to themselves. But in representative assemblies, the responsibility or obligation of the members to observe the instructions of their constituents, is an odious doctrine. It was sufficient to assert the supreme authority of a parliament summoned originally to promote an union; and on a division, the opposition were deserted by their own friends. A majority of sixty-four determined to proceed, without delay, to the consideration of the treaty;

Harley, as a spy on the ministry during the union. It was usual, it seems, for the English ministers to employ a spy upon the conduct of the Scottish statesmen in parliament. Tindal, iii. 49.

but

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Tumults.

but without a vote, till the articles were separately examined and discussed. The impatient multitudes by whom the house was besieged, and the streets and adjacent buildings filled and crowded, conceived that the first article was rejected since the vote was deferred, and their acclamations expressed the most lively and immoderate joy. When their mistake was discovered, they insulted the commissioner with execrations and threats, on his return to the palace; conducted the popular orators, nightly, in triumph to their homes; and at length, exasperated at their late provost, one of the commissioners for a treaty, attacked his house with all the fury which his supposed treachery inspired. His escape disappointed their vengeance. Their rage and numbers increased as they ranged the streets in quest of the treaters, and nothing was wanting but a resolute leader, or sufficient concert, to overturn both the parliament and the union together. The opportunity was not omitted to introduce the army into the city, to prevent the insults of an enraged populace; and the country party protested in vain, that the estates, surrounded with guards, were overawed by the presence of a military force⁵⁸.

When the capital became outrageous, the commissioner and chancellor were inclined to adjourn the parliament, from the lowering discontent of the whole kingdom; and the union would have been lost had it depended on them. But the men by

⁵⁸ Sir J. Clerk's Hist. MS.

whom they were chiefly instigated, were not to be deterred from a great though unpopular design. Lord Stair exhorted them not to adjourn. Godolphin urged them to persevere in an union; assured them of troops to their assistance from England, Ireland, or, if necessary, from Flanders⁵⁹; and the nation, from the determined violence of the contending parties, appeared to be rapidly verging to arms. Numerous addresses, from all parts of the kingdom, against an union, were daily presented, and disregarded by parliament. But when the parliament proceeded, on the four first articles, to determine whether the two kingdoms should be united into one, with the same privileges, and under the same legislature and line of succession established in England; not only the arguments of each party, but that daring eloquence, and those fierce animosities and passions, were exhibited in its debates, which, whenever the constitution is lodged in a single assembly, may procure or prevent the most important resolves, by contagious sympathy, clamorous importunity, force, or surprise⁶⁰.

Debates on
the four
first articles.

The court party that began the debate, represented the necessity and importance of an union between two kindred, and contiguous nations, seated in the same island, sprung from the same

Arguments
for an
union.

⁵⁹ Burnet, v. 323. Cunningham, ii. 57.

⁶⁰ Sir John Clerk hesitates whether to detail the debates, *nam strepitum non linguarum, sed quasi armorum audire videor; ex iris et odiis, jurgiis, motibusque animorum, belli civilis potius quam senatoriæ transactionis, narratio mihi constituenda videtur.* Hist. MS.

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original, of the same language, religion, institutions, and manners; placed already under the same sovereign, and adapted by nature to form the same undivided state. On the first accession of their monarchs to the throne of England, every national and domestic blessing was expected from an event that gave a common sovereign to the two kingdoms, formerly harrassed and exhausted by mutual wars and incessant bloodshed. If Scotland has since declined, or continued stationary, miserable, and dependent on England, to what can it be imputed but to the unavoidable ascendancy acquired by a jealous, more powerful nation over the sovereign, for which there is no cure but an incorporating union? No friend to his country could desire the renewal of former hostilities; or if it were possible to resist the victorious progress of the English arms, no communication nor benefit of trade could be expected from a commercial alliance with the French or Dutch. The necessity of a more intimate alliance is acknowledged, when an imperfect union, under the same sovereign, has proved insufficient to prevent mutual discontent. Ever since the union of the crowns, the independence of the country has been overruled, it is said, by the predominating influence of the English cabinet. The experience of a whole century demonstrates, therefore, that without an incorporating union, the interests of Scotland will still continue to be rendered subservient to England. A federal alliance, under different parliaments, may be dissolved by either, on some dangerous novelty, suggested

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gested by selfish or ambitious individuals prone to innovation ; or interrupted on every question of public right, respecting foreign treaties, commercial regulations, mutual contributions, peace or war. Were the determination of these questions to be vested in a council chosen by the two nations, still the Scots could expect no more than a representation proportioned to their population and supplies. But the council, under whatever name it were established, would soon acquire the supreme authority of the British senate ; while the parliament of each nation must either be annihilated, or eclipsed and reduced to a subordinate assembly of provincial estates. Nothing, therefore, remains for Scotland, to obliterate at once its dependence and misery, but an incorporating union under the same government, and a free access to the same privileges, constitution, and trade with England. Nothing else is secure and permanent ; nor would the English assent, on other terms, to a communication of trade. The federal union of Calmar was productive of eternal discord between the Danes and Swedes ; the alliance with Spain was dissolved by Portugal ; but the different provinces of France, the kingdoms of Spain, the heptarchy of England, and above all the two indigenous races still subsisting distinct in Scotland, are examples of nations happily united, and incorporated for ever into the same state. What then can prevent the present union, but the ideal sovereignty and independence of Scotland, which we are unable to preserve ? Let us rather associate our independence with that of England, for the preservation of both ;
like

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like a chaste and prudent virgin, apprehensive of her own weakness, who accepts an illustrious alliance, and preserves the honour and identity of her person under another name. Thus the glory and trade of England becomes equally ours; and the industry of the country will increase and flourish with the arts of peace. Are we apprehensive of additional taxes? An equivalent is offered, to enable us to sustain whatever duties are imposed in England. Is our representation diminished? The English constitution is also impaired; for the master who admits a new inmate to a share in the management and command of his household, retains no longer the entire administration of his domestic affairs. But a British parliament can have no object distinct from the common interest; and the two nations may repose, secure and happy, under the same legislature, while religion, liberty, and the protestant succession, together with the protestant interest through Europe, will be preserved by their union.

Arguments
against it.

The country party, resuming their former argument, maintained that there were certain fundamentals in government which the legislature had no authority to subvert or infringe. Whatever were the tenure by which their seats were held, whether created by the crown or by their constituents, they possessed nothing more than a delegated power that originated from the people; a discretionary and sacred trust, strictly limited to the exercise and preservation of the constitution which the people had established, or to which they consented to submit. Without their express consent,
the

the parliament could neither annihilate, nor transfer its legislative power to another, much less in opposition to their declared will. That the voice and sense of the people were adverse to an incorporating union, could admit of no dispute. Innumerable petitions were presented against it; not a single address had appeared in its favour: but if the parliament, whose dignity it was treason to diminish, should alienate a trust which it was created to execute, what result could be expected from an union to which the whole nation appeared irreconcilable. Instead of peace, repose, and prosperity, what but mutual animosity, distraction, discord, future rebellion, and eternal discontent! Will the supposed benefits of commercial intercourse, sooth or console the nation for the legislative power of which it is thus defrauded and despoiled? Stock, credit, and skill, are neither created nor transplanted by treaties, but are the slow and laborious acquisition of time. The exportation of rude produce must procure the first capital for the improvement of industry and skill. But the produce of the country will be diverted from the European, and restrained to the English market. The exportation of wool must be prohibited, and its manufacture discouraged, to supply the monopoly of the English staple: but before the acquisition of skill and industry, what benefit can result to our infant manufactures, from a privilege to compete with English manufactures, in the English market? Our trade at present is small, yet improvable; exempt from restriction. But if we prefer a single customer to the rest of Europe, will the benefit of a plantation trade, of
which

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which the returns are circuitous, remote, and uncertain, compensate the quick returns and rapid circulation of a trade nearer home? The spirit of commercial enterprise, so lately excited, requires the fostering care and protection of parliament; instead of which it is subjected to the accumulated debts, and crushed in its infancy beneath the oppressive taxes, of a foreign legislature, invidious, or indifferent at least, to its success. Can the poor endure an enormous excise, or the taxes on salt and malt, which are suspended insidiously till the nation is better inured to the yoke? Are the rich aware of the future growth of the public debt, and the increase of taxes, from wars in which the nation has no share nor concern? But an equivalent is offered, to serve at once as a fund for taxes, and a capital for trade. An equivalent for submitting to the debts of England, must be repaid with interest in a few years: but this strange equivalent is advanced for the arrears and losses of a few individuals, not to the nation at large, on whose posterity the debts are entailed for ever. An immense bribe is thus offered, which the nation must refund; and the chartered rights of its trading companies, to preserve the exclusive trade of the English, must be purchased up at its own expence. But what equivalent is given for the removal of the seat of government, the surrender of the parliament, national independence, and constitutional rights? A slight addition is made to the English parliament, equivalent to a single creation of peers, and the representation of a single county in the house of commons. But in Scotland, every
estate

estate in parliament, every county and corporation is disfranchised. The inherent birthright of the nobility is forfeited, to create a mongrel species of elective peers: and instead of meeting on equal terms, the nation, from the extreme disproportion of representatives, after the privileges which it surrenders, is reduced to depend, like a conquered province, on the generosity, good faith, or discretion of an English parliament, for the rights which it reserves. If a dispute should occur respecting its religion, laws, or the privileges of its peerage, will the English prove more observant of the articles of union than a Scottish parliament of its own constitution and fundamental laws? Or, in a question respecting their own rights, can the English expect that the representatives from Scotland will be more tenacious of the constitution to which they are admitted, than of the one which they have destroyed? It will then be found, from their dependence on the court, that their number is sufficient to corrupt the rights of the English, not to preserve their own. But for those by whom the nation is betrayed and sold, to affirm that its independence and sovereignty are ideal rights, which it is unable to preserve, what is it but to convert their own crimes and corruption into reasons of state? Independence and sovereignty are of little value in themselves; but it is the sense of national independence in which the energy and free spirit of a people, and all that is great and patriotic, reside. Let us establish, said the marquis of Anandale, the same succession with England; let our crown be annexed to hers, and our treaties,

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Lord Bel-
haven's
speech.

alliances, and wars, be the same: but let us preserve and improve our constitution and parliament; nor, for dangerous, at least precarious innovations, resign our independence, without which the spirit of a nation becomes poor and languid, sunk and degraded even in its own esteem⁶¹.

Methinks I see a free and independent kingdom, said the patriotic lord Belhaven, delivering up the great object of dispute among nations, for which the world has ever been fighting, and all Europe is at present engaged in war; the power to manage their own affairs without assistance or control. I see the present peers of Scotland, whose ancestors have exacted tribute through England, walking like English attorneys in the court of requests; while at home, a petty English exciseman shall receive more homage and respect than were ever paid to the greatest of their progenitors. I see the estates of barons, the bold asserters of our liberties in the worst of times, setting a watch upon their lips, and a guard upon their tongues, to avoid the penalties of unknown laws; and the burrows, walking through their desolate streets, drooping under disappointments, and wormed out of the branches of their former trade. I see the honest and industrious tradesman, loaded with new taxes and impositions, disappointed of the equivalent, eating his saltless pottage, and drinking water instead of ale. I see the incurable difficulties of the landed gentry, fettered with the golden chain of equivalents; their daughters petitioning for

⁶¹ Sir J. Clerk's Hist. Lockhart. De Foe; passim. Pamphlets on the Union.

want of husbands, their sons for want of employment. But above all, I see our ancient mother Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our senate, looking mournfully around, covering herself with her royal garment, and breathing out her last words, *And thou too, my son!* while she attends the fatal blow from our hands. Patricide is worse than parricide; to offer violence to our country is worse than to our parents. But shall we, whose predecessors have founded and transmitted our monarchy and its laws entire, to us a free and independent kingdom, shall we be silent when our country is in danger, or betray what our progenitors so dearly purchased? The English are a great and glorious nation. Their armies are every where victorious; their navy is the terror of Europe; their commerce encircles, and their capital has become the emporium of the whole earth. But we are obscure, poor, and despised, though once a nation of better account; situate in a remote corner of the world, without alliances, and without a name. What then can prevent us from burying our animosities, and uniting cordially together, since our very existence as a nation is at stake? The enemy is already at our gates! Hannibal is within our gates! Hannibal is at the foot of the throne, which he will soon demolish, seize upon these regalia, and dismiss us never to return to this house again! Where are the Douglasses, the Grahams, the Campbells, our peers and chieftains, who vindicated by their swords, from the usurpation of the English Edwards, the independence of their country,

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which their sons are about to forfeit by a single vote? I see the English constitution remaining firm: the same houses of parliament; the same taxes, customs, and excise; the same trading companies, laws, and judicatures; whilst ours are either subjected to new regulations, or annihilated for ever. And for what? that we may be admitted to the honour of paying their old, and presenting a few witnesses to attest the new debts they are pleased to contract! Good God! is this an entire surrender? My heart bursts with indignation and grief, at the triumph which the English will obtain to-day, over a fierce and warlike nation, that has struggled to maintain its independence so long! But if England should offer us our own conditions, never will I consent to the surrender of our sovereignty; without which, unless the contracting parties remain independent, there is no security different from his who stipulates for the preservation of his property when he becomes a slave.

An union
approved.

The sublime and pathetic eloquence of Belhaven was exerted in vain. Fletcher remarked, that the honour and interest of the country had been betrayed by the commissioners; and when an explanation was demanded, acknowledged that the expression was harsh, but true; that treachery was the only epithet he could find for their conduct. Insuperable difficulties were urged as a reason that no better terms could be obtained from England; to which the duke of Hamilton indignantly replied, that the situation of the Scots, on the same island with the English, might have furnished their commissioners

missioners with the most decisive argument for better terms. A profound silence ensued, at an argument not less invidious than just⁶²; but when the question was demanded, it was determined, by a majority of thirty-three votes, that the two kingdoms should be united into one, under the same legislature and line of succession established in England.

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There are few princes who, from a sincere distaste of royalty, and the cares of government, have descended from the throne: but the voluntary consent of a numerous senate to resign its legislative functions for ever, is an event unexampled, perhaps, in the history of mankind. Whatever force or conviction the arguments on either side may possess, we may truly affirm that these are rather the apologies than the motives for the conduct of parties. Man is naturally prone to faction, and tenacious of power, which, in popular assemblies, nothing less than personal interest or fear can surmount. The secret history of the intrigues and corruption that produced the union, has either been lost or industriously suppressed⁶³; and at this

Secret motives and corruption of members.

⁶² Hist. of Queen Anne, down to the Union, p. 476. Lord. 1707. Boyer's Annals, v. 348.

⁶³ Lord Somers's Manuscripts, containing a copious collection of papers relative to the union, were mostly destroyed by a fire in Lincoln's Inn. Lord Seafield had made a large collection of state papers and letters, from the revolution to the union, which, with his memoirs of his own times, were consumed in his house adjacent to the Abbey, several years after the union took place. Lord Mar's Papers respecting the union and rebellion in 1715 were mostly destroyed.

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distance of time is imperfectly understood. From the frequent creation of peers in the present reign, a numerous faction was introduced into parliament, devoted indisputably to the court from which their hereditary seats were derived. A large majority of the nobility supported the union, from which their dignity suffered the chief diminution; and as the other estates were more equally divided, the parliament, from a radical defect in its constitution, was subverted by the assemblage of peers and commons in the same house. But the equivalent was the golden bait, the distribution of which, among those whose integrity might have resisted a bribe, created the same expectation and dependence as a contract or loan. Above fourscore members were considered either as dependents on the court, or influenced by honourable and lucrative places, the assurance of preferment, or the contingent payment of arrears and the public debts⁶⁴. The country party was equally numerous. In a parliament so nicely balanced, the success of the union depended on the Squadrone, whose connexion with the English whigs was renewed; and when Montrose was appointed president of council, they endeavoured to recommend themselves to the court, on the assurance or hopes of being restored to power. Their attachment to the protestant succession was undisputed; their resentment at the country party, by whom they were once deserted, was the same with the commissioners': but in the preceding session they had promoted the settlement

⁶⁴ See Some queries relative to the intended union,

of the crown, in opposition to an union ; and although something must be ascribed to patriotism, and the farce of argument, yet their sudden conversion cannot be imputed altogether to the most disinterested conviction. Twenty thousand pounds were transmitted from the English treasury, of which a large proportion was distributed among nineteen peers and eight commoners, under the name of arrears⁶⁵. Among those peers were Marchmont, Montrose, Roxburgh, and Tweeddale, the leaders of the Squadrone, who maintained a guarded silence till their accession to the court party, on the first division, determined the union.

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The religion of each nation was reserved ; but the commission of assembly recommended a national fast to the presbyteries, and an address to parliament to provide for the unalterable settlement and security of the presbyterian church. The clergy in general averse to the union, were alarmed at the danger of subjecting the nation to the oaths, and the church to the innovations of an English parliament, wherein twenty-six prelates sat as constituent members. They exclaimed from the pulpit, at the approaching defection from the national covenant, in which the civil authority of churchmen was prohibited, and the nation, instead of acknowledging the hierarchy, was required to concur in prosecuting the reformation of England. But the violence of the commission was over-ruled, at first, by the presence of the court party as ruling elders ; and restrained by Wishart the moderator,

Opposition
of the clergy,
and an
act for the
security of
the church.

⁶⁵ See NOTE VII.

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and Carstairs who had retired from the management of the state to ecclesiastical affairs. On the arrival of the country clergy, a more violent address was presented against the dangers to which presbytery was exposed by an union ; and to evade their importunate demands, the parliament prepared an act for the security of the church. The presbyterian form of government, and the Westminster confession of faith, were declared unalterable ; the nation was exempted from whatever oaths, subscriptions, or tests, were inconsistent with either ; and the confirmation of both was inserted as a fundamental article in the treaty of union. An alternative was proposed, that the Scots should either be relieved in England from the sacramental tests, or that a formula should be prescribed in Scotland, as a similar security for the national church ; otherwise the English would soon be admitted, without a test, to the exchequer and revenue, the most numerous or important offices that remained. The equity and importance of the motion were acknowledged ; but it was rejected, as the English would never consent to relinquish their tests. The act of security gave little satisfaction ; but the clergy were content to temporize, as they might forfeit the support of the court party, and had no protection to expect were the Jacobites to prevail. On the departure of the country clergy, the commission relapsed into its former moderation. The violence of the presbyteries was restrained, or their petitions intercepted by circular letters from Carstairs, which were artfully calculated to represent the commission as indifferent, or not averse to an union ; but the English ministers in vain solicited the

the approbation of the church, which that subtle politician was unable to procure⁶⁶.

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Succeeding
articles ap-
proved.

The succeeding articles, respecting trade, taxation, jurisdiction and laws, received little alteration, Bounties in the exportation of grain were extended to bear and oatmeal, the chief produce as yet of the country. Drawbacks were allowed on the exportation of beef, pork, and herrings preserved with foreign salt. The taxes on salt and malt, and the excise on ale, the most oppressive to the nation, excited the loudest discontent. The excise on ale was reduced to a medium between strong and small beer, as the Scots drank French wines instead of the former, and their *twopenny* ale scarcely exceeded the latter in strength. A perpetual exemption was demanded from the duties on salt and malt; but the court party were suspicious of whatever might tend, in the English parliament, to frustrate the union, or obstruct its success. The heaviest of the duties on salt were removed from the nation. The malt-tax was suspended during the war; nor was it imagined then, that a recent duty, to which the English submitted reluctantly from year to year, would be prolonged on a peace. An argument equally fallacious was employed to reconcile the parliament to the English customs; that the greater part expired in four years, when the customs of Scotland would be reduced to a lower rate than at present⁶⁷; nor was it considered that a tax, even of the shortest duration, to which the nation has once submitted, seldom fails to become perpetual.

⁶⁶ Carstairs, 1754—8. Lockhart. Clerk's MS. De Foe. Boyer.

⁶⁷ Clerk's Hist, MS. De Foe, 419.

While

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Tumults.Insurrec-
tions pro-
jected,

While each article was successively disputed and confirmed in parliament, the increasing ferment of the nation threatened to convert the union into an internal war. Notwithstanding the presence of the military, the commissioner was frequently insulted, and his life endangered by the enraged multitude. At Glasgow, the imprudent opposition of the magistrates to an address against the union incensed the populace, who seized and, for some days, retained possession of the town. In the western counties the Cameronians and peasants, whose aversion to an union was inflamed by fanaticism, held frequent nocturnal meetings; and a numerous body appearing in arms at Dumfries, burnt the articles, and affixed a declaration against the union to the market cross. At length they assembled openly, under the act of security, to embody themselves into regiments, to appoint their officers, to provide horses and arms, and to consult on measures for dissolving the parliament; which nothing but the incessant rains, and the inclemency of the winter season, had hitherto preserved⁶⁸. Cuninghame, an old and experienced officer in whom they confided, was sent to inform the popular leaders that when matters were properly concerted, they were ready to march to Edinburgh, to disperse a wretched parliament, whose members had sold the honour and interest of their country, and forfeited all right to determine either for their constituents or themselves. The same offers were made from Perth and Angus. The duke of Athol, whose influence in the highlands

⁶⁸ Lockhart, 218. with Clerk's Notes.

was

was extensive, undertook to secure Stirling, and preserve the communication between the west and north. The presbyterians were about to take arms with the Jacobites, and, if we may believe their authors, to declare for their king. Nothing less than a civil war could be expected from an union, to which two thirds of the nation were confessedly averse, or rather, which was prosecuted by the court and its adherents alone. But, at this critical and decisive moment, Cuninghame, terrified at the danger, and allured by a reward for the discovery of the enterprize, betrayed their designs to Queensberry, by whom he was instructed to return, and sooth or dissuade his confederates in the west. He assured them in his progress through the western counties, that there was neither fidelity nor resolution among their associates in Edinburgh, who had promised but refused to furnish assistance or supplies; and that they should consider well before they engaged, without aid, in such a desperate attempt. Whether apprized of his treachery, or averse to arms, Hamilton, who held nightly consultations with Queensberry in the palace, where both resided, dispatched private expresses through the country, requiring the people to desist for a time; and, instead of seven thousand engaged in the enterprize, not above five hundred assembled, whom Cuninghame easily persuaded to disperse⁶⁹. The act of security was immediately suspended,

And prevented by
Hamilton.

⁶⁹ Lockhart, 278. Hook's Negotiations, 10. 12. Ker of Kersland, in his Memoirs, claims and was suspected (Macpherson's

B O O K suspended, as far as it authorized the people to
XI. muster and appear in arms.

1706.
 National
 address.

Dec. 27.

When each measure to disperse the parliament was thus disconcerted, a more moderate and unexceptionable plan was proposed by Fletcher, that the freeholders of every description should be invited to town, to attend, and, in a body, to conjure the commissioner to relinquish the union, or at least to consent to a short recess, till the sentiments of the nation were represented to the queen. A national address was prepared; to be circulated on his refusal, universally subscribed, and transmitted to the queen, requesting a new parliament and assembly, as the only means to avert the miseries of a compulsive union. Five hundred gentlemen, mostly Jacobites, repaired to town: the earl of Panmure's brother was appointed their prolocutor; but the measure was again disappointed by Hamilton. On the day preceding the national address, he required a clause to be inserted, expressive of their desire to entail the crown on the House of Hanover, without which he asserted that the tories in the English parliament could have no pretext to oppose an union. A demand to which the bulk of the Jacobites could never assent, produced an unexpected delay. A proclamation against illegal convocations was issued; and the country gentlemen, wearied with attendance, and disgusted at their leaders, returned to their homes. Hamilton's opponents were persuaded that he had received

pherson's Orig. Pap. ii. 548—53.) of the same meritorious infamy.

secret

secret instructions from St. Germans, rather to promote the protestant succession, which might be retrieved in time, than submit to an union, which would unite the two kingdoms in support of the House of Hanover, and exclude the Stewarts for ever from the crown⁷⁰. When the parliament arrived at the twenty-second article, the representation for Scotland, he assembled and exhorted the leading Jacobites not to revert to the past; represented that the Marquis of Anandale, as no time was to be lost, should renew his motion to establish the same succession with England; and proposed that the country party should enter a solemn protestation on its refusal, secede for ever from the house, and resume their national address to the queen. The secession of the same party had destroyed the credit of the former parliament. The English would hesitate to accede to an union, against which a large proportion of parliament had expressed their solemn dissent, and a visible majority of the nation appealed to the crown. Had the measure been duly executed, we are assured that the commissioner and his friends were prepared to adjourn the parliament, and desist from an union to which the general aversion of the people could no longer be concealed⁷¹. The day was fixed for the protestation. A detailed and high

⁷⁰ Sir J. Clerk's Hist. MS.

⁷¹ Clerk's Notes upon Lockhart, 294. 325; wherein he assents in fact to Lockhart's information from Seafeld, that the ministry would have abandoned the union in the event of a national address.

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Twice dis-
appointed
by Hamil-
ton's trea-
chery.

spirited address was prepared. On the preceding evening, Hamilton, at a secret interview with Queensberry, was informed that to him alone the miscarriage of the union would be imputed by the queen, whose favour, amidst all the mazes of opposition, he was unwilling to forfeit; and his terms were adjusted with the court that night⁷². Next morning he was afflicted with the tooth-ach. When compelled by the severe animadversions of his friends to attend the house, he shrunk unexpectedly from his own protest. Neither their remonstrances, entreaties, nor assurance of support, could persuade him to incur the displeasure of the court; and the parliament, during their mutual altercations, had advanced so far that the opportunity was lost. The representation of Scotland was approved; and the country party, enraged and stung with vexation and shame at the reiterated treachery of their perfidious leader, abandoned all concert, and in a few days deserted the House in despair⁷⁴.

Remaining
articles
ratified,

The remaining articles were adopted almost without opposition. To gratify the decayed nobility, protection from personal arrest was secured among other privileges of the British peerage. The *regalia* were carefully reserved, as the emblems of departed sovereignty, to be deposited in the castle, to soothe and appease the apprehensions of the people. The distribution and choice of representatives were

⁷² Lockhart, 326; confirmed by Sir J. Clerk. Hooke's *Negotiations*, xii.

⁷³ See NOTE VIII.

deferred,

deferred, and the articles of union were ratified with the act for the security of the church, and transmitted to the queen. By this artful management, the English cabinet, having first dictated to the commissioners the conditions of the treaty, permitted the Scottish parliament to prescribe apparently to the English, the terms on which it chose to submit to an union.

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And trans-
mitted to
England.

When the articles were communicated to the English parliament, the tories were disposed to resist the progress of the union, which a single amendment was sufficient to obstruct. A singular device was employed to preclude alteration, or even debate. The articles, as ratified in Scotland, and an act passed for the security of the church of England, were recited in the preamble of the bill, and confirmed by a single enacting clause. As the tories could neither dispute the preamble, as a recital of facts, nor oppose the enacting clause with success, the union was carried without an amendment, through the Commons, by surprise. The debates were more solemn, and the articles more fully discussed, among the lords. An accession of sixty-one members from Scotland, lords and commons, to be returned by means of its privy-council, was magnified as disproportionate to its share of taxes, and dangerous to the constitution and church of England; with whose privileges they were unworthy to be entrusted who had betrayed their own. The union was compared to a marriage contracted without the woman's consent; and severely reprobated, as conducted in Scotland by compulsion.

Debates in
the English
parliament.

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compulsion without doors, and corruption within. The whigs, inverting their own arguments at the treaty, depreciated the representation of Scotland in each house, as too inconsiderable to affect the constitution or the church; and maintained that the real danger to which either was exposed, was a popish successor in the interest of France that England was peculiarly vulnerable from the vicinity of the Scots to its collieries, which would require an immense force, in the event of the war, for the protection of the Tyne; that if Scotland were even reduced by force, an union, or a standing army, of which the danger was obvious, would still be necessary to preserve its obedience; and that an object so vast and important as the union of the whole island, could never be accomplished without some minute inconveniences unworthy of regard. The articles of union were approved by a large majority, confirmed by the royal assent, and returned, exemplified, to the Scottish parliament, to commence, according to the treaty, on the first of May. But the union was no sooner contracted than it was almost infringed. From the prospect of a free trade, a large importation of wines and brandy was expected in Scotland; and large quantities of tobacco began to be sent thither, to obtain a drawback on its exportation from England. The loudest outcries were raised by the merchants, a race that screams at imaginary dangers; and the Commons interposed at their request, to prevent the importation of those articles from Scotland, free from duties, when the union commenced.

Where the
union is
approved
and exem-
plified.

menced. But the lords rejected the bill, as a manifest violation of the free intercourse stipulated for trade ⁷⁵.

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Distribu-
tion.

In the mean while the Scottish parliament had proceeded to the distribution and choice of representatives. The ministers and prime nobility were disposed to appropriate the representation of the peerage to ancient families, in order to secure an exclusive, if not an hereditary seat to themselves. In opposition to this scheme, a rotation was proposed; but as each party confided in its strength for success, an election was preferred, and a ballot, to secure the nobility from corrupt influence, was rejected as dishonourable. Thirty members were allotted to the counties, fifteen to the boroughs; of whom a single member was conferred on the metropolis. The rest were distributed among fourteen districts, or boroughs classed according to their vicinity, who continued each to elect a commissioner; but the functions of these commissioners, by a double election, were reduced to the choice of a member for each district, to the British parliament. The larger counties obtained each a member, the lesser shires an alternate election: and the distribution was made with such haste and injustice, that Caithness, instead of being incorporated with Sutherland, which it exceeded in value, was conjoined with the diminutive shire of Bute ⁷⁶. But the parliament was suppressed

⁷⁵ Burnet, v. 327. De Foe: Boyer, &c.

⁷⁶ Clerk's Hist. MS. The earl of Sunderland was a commissioner for the treaty of union, and as the electors in that county were mostly his own vassals, they procured a separate representation

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And choice
of repre-
sentatives
by the
estates of
Scotland.

suppressed to violate every principle of government and of public faith, when it assumed to itself the nomination of representatives, in defiance of the articles of union so recently framed. If not entitled to a new parliament, to confirm the union contracted by the present, the people, it was said, while indulged with representatives, could never, without a contradiction in terms, be deprived of the rights of election, under whatever constitution they were placed. But the ministers were desirous to secure the returns; and after subverting the constitution, the parliament was afraid to entrust the people with the choice of their own representatives. As the queen was empowered by an article of union to declare the lords and commons of the English, constituent members of the British parliament, the pretext was seized by the estates to appoint representatives; although the same articles provided that a writ should be issued to the privy council for elections in Scotland. Sixteen peers and forty-five commoners were accordingly chosen by their respective estates. Notwithstanding his solicitation and intrigues, Hamilton was industriously excluded by his own order. From the influence of the court, and the resentment of opposition, few of the Squadrone were included in the nomination⁷⁷. The rest devoted to the ministers, furnished an unfavourable specimen of the future independence of Scottish members in the British parliament.

tative for themselves. The earl of Morton, another commissioner, obtained a grant of the crown lands and rents in the Orkneys.

⁷⁷ Not above three peers and fifteen commoners.

Nothing

Nothing but the disposal of the equivalent remained. Thirty thousand pounds were allotted to the commissioners for the last, and the preceding treaty; and at this ample remuneration, the people indignantly exclaimed, that the motives of their concessions, and the price of their votes were no longer concealed. Two hundred and thirty thousand pounds were appropriated to the Darien company; but the management and distribution of the equivalent were referred to commissioners to be appointed by the queen. The administration was thus enabled to fulfil its promises and the expectations of its friends, by a partial distribution, or the allotment of large sums under the designation of public debts⁷⁸. Private grants became more numerous as the parliament hastened towards a conclusion. At the approaching loss of the national legislature, such visible dejection and despair prevailed, that when the exemplification of the union arrived from England, instead of a solemn dissolution suitable to the event, the parliament of Scotland, not to aggravate the public sorrow, was silently adjourned for a few weeks, but it was dissolved for ever⁷⁹.

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Disposal of
the equivalent.

Parliament
adjourned
for ever.

The nobility most instrumental to an union, hastened to earn their rewards at court. The duke

Commencement
and recep-

⁷⁸ Id. Minutes of Parliament.

⁷⁹ Clerk's Hist. MS. "Seafeld the chancellor's observation 'on adjourning the parliament was, *There is an end of an auld sang*, to his immortal memory and honour."—A Short History of the Revolution in Scotland, in a Letter to a Friend at London, 1712.

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Union of the
England.

In Scot-
land.

of Queensberry, whose life was frequently endangered in Scotland, was received and escorted through England with the respect and honour due to his success. The patronage of Scotland was placed in his hands. He was gratified afterwards with a pension, and advanced successively to the first rank of the British peerage, and the office of third secretary of state, with Scotland for his department. Mar and Seafield were rewarded with pensions, and admitted, with other peers, to the privy-council. Montrose and Roxburgh were created Scottish dukes, as if ambitious of the last honours of an expiring state. A public thanksgiving was proclaimed through England; and a solemn procession was made by the queen to St. Paul's church, on the first of May, when the union commenced. Addresses from all parts of England were presented to the queen, on the success of an union which her predecessors, for a century past, had attempted in vain; and the public joy seemed to receive no abatement, except from an apprehension that it might appear immoderate or invidious to the Scots⁸⁰. But a sullen and inflexible silence was observed in Scotland, expressive of deep, undisguised discontent. No addresses were transmitted to court; no acclamations nor public rejoicings attended the union; nor durst the queen enjoin the observance of the thanksgiving, which might have been contemned as an insult, or converted into a day of solemn fasting, tribulation, and

⁸⁰ Carstairs, 760. Cunningham, ii. 79. Boyer's Annals.

prayer.

prayer²¹. The equivalent was received amidst the execrations of the people, as the price of their independence; the merchandise exported to England was seized, and their trade suspended by new regulations, as if to exasperate their discontent. An influx of English revenue officers overspread the country, till then unacquainted with the oppressive laws of revenue; and their severe exactions perpetually incensed and admonished the people that they were no longer an independent nation. The jacobites rejoiced at the public discontent, as conducive to the speedy recall of their king. Instead of the union, the pretender's birth-day was publicly celebrated; and the presbyterians seemed to have no choice, unless to become a province either of England or France²². We may conceive, but it is impossible to describe the anguish of Fletcher, Belhaven, and the sincerer patriots, attached to no family or line of succession, but to the independence of their country, which they prized above the prosperity of the British empire. Wherever the independence of a nation has been subverted by conquest, the brave may obtain the mournful consolation that its fall was glorious; the good, that no virtue nor prudence was omitted for its preservation. But they beheld their country subjected, by the corruption of its own representatives, to a foreign yoke; the people deprived of all interest or share in the constitution; the genius of Scotland bound and delivered up to the English

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²¹ Carstairs, 761.

²² Burnet, v. 359. De Foe, 589. Lockhart's Memoirs.
Z 3 government,

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government, and themselves deprived, by their perfidious leader, of a just and timely recourse to arms. Hamilton himself, whose consummate address had united the most opposite factions so long, had the mortification to find that he was shunned and suspected by every party; and the bitter reflection, that while deceiving others he was duped and deceived by his own intrigues, produced a severe illness that endangered his life.

Union completed,

The union was not yet complete, unless the same government were established in the united kingdoms, with the same laws against state crimes. The motives of the Scottish statesmen in acceding to an union, to govern by means of the privy council exempt from the opposition of the country party, or the control of parliament, have been sufficiently explained. A new commission was issued for the privy council, excluding such as opposed the union. A subordinate, yet distinct administration, was delegated by Godolphin, and engrossed by Queensberry, Seafield, Mar, and others; through whom alone access was obtained to the queen. Twenty-five members, mostly their own creatures, were appointed commissioners to distribute the equivalent according to their instructions; and as the writs were directed, and the returns made to the privy council, the management of elections, and the nomination of representatives to both houses, were placed in their hands. They promised Godolphin the most unreserved support; but the Squadrone party applied to the whigs, to dissolve the administration of the privy council from which they

they were excluded themselves⁸³. The situation of Scotland would have been infinitely worse than before the union, if an institution were preserved which was at once a court of justice and a council of state, wherein policy must ever predominate over the laws. While the legislature remained entire its oppression was restrained, but if a distinct administration were permitted to subsist, there was no power in the nation to procure the redress of grievances from the British parliament; the complaints and applications of the people would have been intercepted; and to suppress their murmurs, the privy council must have soon degenerated into the tyranny practised in former reigns⁸⁴. From the same disinterested and enlightened views which produced the union, the abrogation of the privy council was concerted by lord Somers, with the principal whigs. A bill was introduced *to render the union more entire and complete*. The same privy council was proposed for the whole island; the returns of elections were to be transferred to the sheriffs; and, to supply the jurisdiction of the Scottish council, justices of peace, an institution often attempted but never introduced, were ordained to be appointed, and the justiciary court to make regular circuits twice a year. The administration opposed the bill, against which the Scottish statesmen endeavoured to excite a clamour at home; but there the public discontent at the union was gratified by every disappointment which they

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By the dissolution of the privy-council.

⁸³ Cunningham, ii. 71. 79.

⁸⁴ Hardwick's State Papers, ii. 473. Burnet, v. 300—78.

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sustained⁸⁵. At that distance from the seat of government, they maintained that the disaffection of the highlanders and principal families, incensed at an union, required the vigilant inspection of the privy council; but their design was obvious, to retain the nation in a miserable dependence on themselves and the crown. The aversion to the union was expected to subside the sooner, if every national distinction were obliterated. An amendment to prolong the duration of the privy council till October, was rejected, as a device to secure the approaching elections for a new parliament; and the first of May was prefixed for its dissolution, that the anniversary of the union might introduce the same government through the whole island. So variously are our feelings modified and affected by personal interest, that the loss of a venerable institution was deplored by those who had sacrificed the constitution and independence of their country without a pang of regret⁸⁶. The concluding labours of the privy council were usefully employed in recalling and altering the denomination of the coin; when it was discovered, from the silver brought to the mint, that the species in circulation was little less than a million sterling⁸⁷.

And the
introduc-
tion

It was from a singular train of events, and after an obstinate struggle, that the same laws were instituted against state crimes. The importunities of

⁸⁵ Letters from the earl of Mar to his Brother, MS. in the Archives of the Family.

⁸⁶ Letters from the earl of Marr to his Brother, MS.

⁸⁷ Ruddiman's Preface to Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiz.* Sir J. Clerk's MSS.

the

the Jacobites, and the apparent discontent of Scotland, aroused the attention of the French court. A naval expedition was prepared at Dunkirk; but its destination was prematurely discovered by the pretender's arrival; and at the prospect of an invasion, England unaccustomed, from its insular situation, to a war on the frontiers, was filled with alarm. A fleet was fitted out with the utmost dispatch; but the French squadron escaped from Dunkirk, and was prevented only by overshooting the Forth in the dark, from landing the pretender, with five thousand regular forces, at a juncture the most favourable for a descent on Scotland which has since occurred. Not above two thousand five hundred troops remained in the country, natives deeply imbued with the national discontent. The national fortresses were entrusted to persons of doubtful fidelity, and the equivalent was lodged in Edinburgh castle, which was unprovided for defence. No care had been taken to appease the nation, exasperated at the union; and the presbyterians, the only support of government since the revolution, were rather disposed to promote than resist the invasion. The northern nobility, Gordon, Athol, Errol, Panmure, and others, had engaged to take arms; but the French, on regaining the Forth, defied the approach of the English fleet, and, with the loss of a single ship, escaped its pursuit. The prisons were immediately crowded with suspected persons of all ranks; among whom Belhaven, Fletcher, and the principal opponents of the union were included. As the authority of the privy council was about to expire, the prisoners were
ordered,

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ordered, for examination, to London; and the prostrate nation was unnecessarily insulted with an afflicting spectacle, of its nobility, gentry, and most distinguished patriots, led in ostentatious triumph to the English capital. Hamilton, who had retired to England to avoid the insurrection, was also arrested; but by an opportune negotiation with the whigs, to support the Sqradrone party at the approaching elections, procured his own release and the discharge of his friends. Belhaven had already survived his country; but at this unworthy treatment, the generous patriot expired of grief and indignation as soon as he was released. A few gentlemen who had appeared in arms, were remanded to Scotland, to be tried and condemned for treason; but by the connivance of Stewart, the queen's advocate, who neglected to furnish a list of witnesses, which the judges, equally dissatisfied with government, deemed indispensable, they were unexpectedly absolved by the justiciary court⁸⁸.

Of the Eng-
lish treason
law.

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Their acquittal disappointed and enraged the ministers; and in the succeeding parliament a bill was introduced *for improving* the union of the two kingdoms, by extending to Scotland the English laws against high treason, and misprision of treason. The Scottish members were unanimous in their opposition to the first attempts to reduce their country under the laws of England; and maintained that the bill was deroga-

⁸⁸ Lockhart, 383. Cunningham, ii. 159. Burnet, vi. 6. Boyer. The removal of the prisoners to England was falsely ascribed to the earl of Mar, whom the queen, in a confidential letter to that nobleman, exculpates from the imputation. Mar's Papers, MS.

tory,

tory, not only to their public, but their private rights which the union had reserved. When the laws of each nation were examined, the public discovered, with surprise, that the mode of trial for treason was more favourable to the accused, and the punishment far more lenient in Scotland. Till the preceding reign the culprit was deprived in England of a copy of his indictment, a list of jurors, and the aid of counsel to plead in his defence; which are still denied in inferior crimes. Peremptory challenges were refused in Scotland; but the prisoner was entitled to counsel, a copy of his indictment, and a list not only of jurors but witnesses, fifteen days before his trial began. Marriage settlements, entails, and the claims of creditors, were excepted from forfeiture; corruption of blood, as the consequence of attainder, was never incurred unless inflicted by the legislature⁸⁹; and the former iniquitous trials in Scotland appeared indisputably to proceed from the accumulation of statutory treasons, and the arbitrary or corrupt practices of the judiciary court. But the Scots discovered, when it was too late, that their representation was inadequate, in either house, to the preservation of their public or private rights. A vote to substitute the English treason laws for those of Scotland, was passed in opposition to their whole representatives. A few clauses were inserted for the security of marriage settlements and entails; but the Scottish peers in vain demanded, that the witnesses, as well as jurors, should be notified to the

⁸⁹ Stair's Institutes, 441.

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prisoner before he was arraigned. Burnet, bishop of Sarum, humanely proposed to abolish forfeiture and corruption of blood, nor disinherit the innocent offspring for their father's crimes. As these popular amendments were refused by the commons, the peers agreed to suspend their effects till the pretender's death, in the artful expectation that the consequences of attainder might be rendered perpetual by a succeeding parliament, as they were afterwards prolonged during the lives of his sons⁹⁰. Under the same government, the same laws were established through Britain against state crimes. The Scots obtained the repeal of tortures, already disused, and a precise rule for the determination of treasons ; while the laws of England, by the notification of the witnesses' names, have been improved from theirs. But the introduction of foreign laws was odious to the nation ; and the nobility attainted under the succeeding reign, still suffer in their posterity from penalties formerly unknown in Scotland.

Thus, above a century after the accession, when the crowns were united in James VI. the union of the kingdoms was finally accomplished, under the last sovereign of the house of Stewart. Henceforth a new series of events began. The struggles of contending factions were removed. New objects of ambition were presented to the statesman, who engaged in a lottery, of which the prizes were richer, but far more precarious ; and when the legislature and seat of government were transferred

⁹⁰ Blackstone, iv. 384.

to the English capital, the history of Scotland expired with its constitution.

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General re-
view of the
principles

When we review the principles, in order to trace the consequences, of this memorable transaction to the present times, the union must be classed among those great, political innovations in which motives, perhaps, of a just expedience, have superseded the doctrines of abstract right. The addition of a few members to the English parliament, neither impaired the constitution, nor deprived the nation of a single representative. But the estates of Scotland, in opposition to the acknowledged voice and sense of the nation, had undoubtedly no more right, abstractly considered, to transfer their derivative, fiduciary powers to another parliament, than to deprive the people of the choice of their own representatives, or to surrender their legislative functions for ever to the crown. The subsequent acquiescence, or rather the virtual consent of the people, has sanctioned a transaction to which three fourths of the nation were originally adverse; and it may be truly affirmed that an event of such national importance and magnitude, so widely beneficial to future times, was never yet accomplished entirely by the purest means, nor without some violence to the freedom of popular consent. But the union, if defective as a question of abstract right, had in point of political expediency become indispensable. Two nations under different legislatures, when united merely by a common allegiance to the same sovereign, are held together by the most slender ties. The connexion may be dissolved by either, on the sudden resentment of a capricious legislature,

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legislature, unless the one has acquired a compulsive, or corrupt ascendancy over the counsels of the other, to insure its uniform concurrence in public affairs. The Scottish parliament therefore, whenever it asserted its own independency, must have either been secured by immense bribes, annihilated by an union, or reduced by force. The first expedient is always precarious, and must have sometimes failed. Nothing less than an union, in the event of a disputed succession, which appeared inevitable, could have preserved the nation from becoming either an easy conquest, or a field of future contention and bloodshed between England and France; and the loss of a corrupt and factious parliament, next to that of its exclusive government, was the greatest blessing which Scotland could obtain. The union, confirmed since by the national consent, has acquired, from political expedience, a sure foundation which no Scotsman would propose to dissolve; and leaves posterity little to regret, but that the views of the whigs were not more enlarged. Instead of being strictly limited to the exigencies of the times, had their scheme of an incorporating union comprehended the American colonies and Ireland, the former might have still been preserved, and the latter reclaimed from its original barbarism; and the representatives of both, introduced with the Scots, into the English parliament, might have secured, instead of endangering, its constitutional balance, and consolidated the strength of the British empire.

But

But the union at first gave such little satisfaction, that before six years had elapsed, the same party by whom it was contracted, proposed to dissolve it, from the real or imaginary injuries which the nation had sustained. The duke of Queensberry had acquired an English or British title and seat in parliament, but from a laudable jealousy of the influence of the crown, was deprived of a vote in the election of the sixteen peers for Scotland. When the tories, during the last years of queen Ann, had engrossed the exclusive possession of power, the duke of Hamilton was created a British peer; but the house of lords, where the influence of the whigs predominated, opposed his patent as repugnant to the union, and rejected his claim to an hereditary seat. Sixteen of the Scottish peers were admitted, by *virtue of that treaty*, to sit and vote in the English parliament; but they appealed in vain to the fallacious promises of the English commissioners, who durst not deny that the clause was purposely inserted to capacitate, not to disqualify them for additional honours, by creation or descent. The tories procured a succession of acts against the presbyterian church; and the sixteen peers were induced at last to intermingle their private grievances with the public discontent. The malt tax, from which the Scots had obtained an exemption during the war, was extended to the whole island on the return of peace. But the tax was still appropriated to the deficiencies incurred by the war; and the Scots complained that it was unequal from the inferior quality of their barley, and an oppressive imposition which
the

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the poverty of their country was unable to sustain.

Their peers concurred with their commoners to dissolve the union; the whigs with the Jacobites to rescue their country from the English yoke. The earl of Seafield, on a day appointed to consider the state of the nation, enumerated the various grievances which the Scots endured; that their privy council was first abolished; that the English laws against high treason were then introduced, and their own repealed; that their peers were stigmatised as the only persons declared incapable of acquiring honours; that instead of being relieved from the burdens of war, their country was oppressed by a more intolerable tax on the return of peace; and concluded with a motion to dissolve the union, from which, instead of the expected benefits, such evils were incurred. The motion was seconded by Mar, Argyle, and the Scottish peers, and supported by most of the English whigs; but opposed by the Tories, who concurred with Harley to preserve an union of which they still disapproved. They affirmed that the Scots had no reason to complain of the malt-tax, which was suspended only during the war; and maintained that the union could not now be dissolved, as the two parliaments by whom it was contracted had ceased to exist. The Scots asserted that they had acquiesced in a solemn assurance, inserted in the treaty, that the united parliament never would impose an unequal tax beyond the abilities of their nation to sustain; that theirs was not half, nor above a third of the value of English malt, but
the

the disproportion of the tax was above two thirds ; and that the powers of the two parliaments to treat or contract, were consolidated in the present, to whom it was equally competent to dissolve an union, which, instead of the advantages promised and expected, was productive only of new grievances, instead of national concord, of additional animosities and mutual discontent. The whigs professed that they were ready to dissolve an union productive of such unforeseen inconveniences, if the protestant succession were previously secured⁹¹ ; but amidst the ostensible arguments of contending parties, their real motives are not always revealed. Though still averse to an union, the Tories were certainly not attached to the house of Hanover ; and an obscure plan to restore the hereditary line was disappointed, according to the Jacobites, by the untimely death of the duke of Hamilton, killed in a duel ; whom the queen had appointed ambassador to France, from a design, it is said, to introduce her brother the pretender into Scotland, with some Irish regiments in the French service, to promote his eventual succession to the English throne. The whigs, apprehensive of similar designs, appear to have listened to the assurances of the Scots, that the protestant succession should be more firmly secured if the union were dissolved. From the separation of the two kingdoms, their friends might obtain an ascendant, and open an asylum for themselves in Scotland, with the interest

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⁹¹ Boyer's Political Transactions, 1712-13, and History. Burnet.

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1713.

The two
rebellions.
1715.

or assistance of Hanover, to counteract the secret designs of the court. But the tories were equally afraid, lest their adversaries should acquire the direction or support of that kingdom if once disunited; and parties were so nearly balanced, that, by the defection of Mar and Loudon, the motion to dissolve the union was rejected only by four votes²².

The unhappy consequences predicted at the union, seemed to be verified by the two rebellions in which the nation was involved; but the first must be ascribed to the impolitic violence of the whigs themselves. A severe proscription from office was begun by the tories in the last years of queen Ann; and instead of attempting to reconcile their adversaries to the new government, the whigs transcribed and improved the example, with little intermission, during the two succeeding reigns. Not satisfied with the removal of the former ministers, they demanded their heads; and their persecution converted the tories into Jacobites, and filled the nation with tumult and discontent. Mar, the secretary of state for Scotland, who professed an early allegiance, was sincerely disposed to acquiesce in the succession of the house of Hanover, and procured a loyal address from the highland clans; but the contumelious refusal of his overtures, and of their submission, the impeachment of Oxford and Strafford, the attainder and exile of Ormond and Bolingbroke, reduced him to

²² Sir John Clerk's Memoirs, MS. Macpherson's Orig. Papers, ii. 388.

despair.

despair⁹³. On repairing to the highlands he was joined by ten thousand disgusted at the union, or attached to the hereditary descent of the crown⁹⁴. Their insurrection, happily for Scotland, was suppressed, with an inferior force, by Argyle their countryman, who, after a doubtful victory, spared and permitted the clans to disperse. But the new government was actuated by revenge proportioned to its sense of danger; and after two reigns of

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⁹³ Transact. of the Antiq. Society Edin. vol. i. p. 562. The family account of Lord Mar's conduct, to which I have adhered, is confirmed by his confidential letters to his brother lord Grange, expressive of the utmost solicitude to preserve the tranquillity of Scotland on the queen's death. On the king's arrival at Greenwich, he attended to present the highland address which lord Grange had prepared; but was informed that it would not be received, as his majesty was well assured that it was manufactured at St. Germain. Concluding his ruin determined, he scrupled no longer to accede to the terms offered by the pretender's agent.

⁹⁴ Sir John Clerk represents the Scots as already so sensible of the benefits of the union, "that the pretender, in 1715, was obliged to alter that part of his proclamation which promised to repeal the union; and to express his intention of leaving it to the determination of a free parliament." Sir John, in all his writings, naturally grasps at whatever was favourable to the union, to which he confesses that three fourths of the nation were hostile at the time. Testamentary Mem. MS. That his information in this instance was defective, appears from the pretender's declaration, published after his arrival, and never recalled: "That he came to relieve his subjects of Scotland from the hardships they groan under from the late unhappy union, and to restore the kingdom to its ancient free and happy state." Boyer's Polit. State, x. 613. Nothing but the danger of a rebellion deterred the presbyterians, on the accession of George I. from concurring with the Jacobites in a national address to dissolve the union. Id. ix.

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1715. unexampled lenity, the nobility suffered from unknown laws, on the scaffold, or in numerous attainders, which the humanity of the present age is unable to reverse. The Jacobites, however, were still soothed and consoled, by the adaptation of their songs to the national melodies, to which few Scotsmen can yet listen without a tear of enthusiastic regret for their ancient independence and race of kings. The second rebellion was distinguished, as the last hostile expedition into England, by the gallant attempt of a few highlanders to restore their prince, and their victories over disciplined and veteran troops; but it was extinguished by a wide and unnecessary profusion of blood, on the scaffold and in the field.

Benefits of
the union,

Nor was the union, for many years, productive of those advantages at first expected. A feeble attempt to obtain a share in the colonial trade was defeated by new regulations, which the commercial jealousy of the English merchants procured. The migration of stock and trade to the north was a visionary expectation. No new manufacturers were attracted to Scotland by the cheapness of labour; no improvement was introduced into agriculture; on the contrary, commerce was still languid, and the price and rents of estates inconsiderable. Every national exertion was discountenanced; and, during the interval between the two rebellions, the country was alternately disregarded, or treated like a conquered province, prone to revolt⁹⁵. The nation, notwithstanding the

At first im-
perceptible,

⁹⁵ Gibson's Hist. of Glasgow. Lindsay's Interest of Scotland considered. Guthrie's Hist. x. 398, &c.

gradual

gradual increase of its linen manufacture, appeared to be nearly stationary, and was certainly far less progressive for half a century than if no union had ever been contracted. The factions of the preceding century were dissolved with the parliament that gave them birth; but it is observable, that factions are not less necessary in a free state, to preserve the spirit of freedom, than sects and controversial disputes in religion, without which the devout zeal, if not the faith of the votary, would soon decay. The national spirit appeared to be sunk and extinguished with those factions which the union dissolved. Patriotism, that ardent and exclusive attachment to our native country which the national independence of the Scots had excited, could neither be preserved entire, nor transferred to another, when Scotland merged into the British empire; and from the narrow basis of representation, the people at large, having lost their own, acquired little interest or share in the constitution into which they were received. The views of Queensberry and his friends in the union, to perpetuate their authority at home, and to establish a numerous party in the English parliament, were realized afterwards by the dukes of Argyle, two brothers to whom the whole country was long devoted; and the English mistook for the servility of the nation the dependence of the few members whom Scotland returned.

But the national spirit thus apparently extinguished, burst forth in a new direction more beneficial to Scotland. When the contests of

Afterwards
immente.

domestic faction had ceased, the turbulent fanaticism which distinguished the Scots during the former century, was lost in the pursuits of industry, literature, and the arts of peace. Some attempts had been made before the last rebellion to introduce a better cultivation into the Lothians, which has since extended through the West and North, to the richest provinces beyond the Tay. The gentry, among other efforts to promote manufactures, had begun to breed their sons to mechanical arts, in order to retain them at home. By the abrogation and sale of hereditary jurisdictions, the poverty of the nobles was relieved, and the people emancipated from their oppressive coercion. The country was gradually enriched by the troops retained to prevent insurrection; and from the advanced price and consumption of cattle in the English market, the farmers accumulated their first stock for the improvement of the soil. The situation of Scotland attracted the peculiar attention of Pelham's administration; and, ten years after the last rebellion, the benefits of the union began to be universally felt. The forfeited estates, instead of being sold as formerly, were appropriated to objects of national improvement; and industry was promoted by every encouragement which bounties can confer. The Jacobites, soothed by indulgence, and reclaimed by the gradual extinction of their hopes, began to transfer their allegiance from the ill-fated Stewarts to the reigning family; and under Chatham's administration, the Scots were employed in the army and navy in greater numbers than were

were ever known in any former war. Notwithstanding the commercial jealousy and opposition of the English, the merchants of Glasgow had acquired a large share in the tobacco trade; but their exports at first were supplied from England, till they adapted their own manufactures to the colonial market; and from that period the prosperity of Scotland has properly commenced.

BOOK

XI.

1755.

When the nation was no longer agitated by domestic faction, literature was again cultivated and restored with unexampled success. During the civil wars, the classical learning for which the Scots were early distinguished, was absorbed and lost in the controversial vortex of religion and liberty; two names ever dear to mankind, with which the world has alternately been guided or deceived. From the restoration down to the union, the only author of eminence whom Scotland produced, was Burnet, the celebrated bishop of Sarum, when transplanted to England, conspicuous as a political writer, an historian, and divine. As an historian alone he descends to posterity; and his curious research into facts, the unaffected ease and simplicity of his dramatic narrative, his bold and glowing delineations of character, are far superior to every historical production of the period. After a long interval the poetical genius of the Scots was revived in the tender and luxuriant Thomson; but the spurious poems of Ossian, a recent forgery, still continue to pollute their history and corrupt their taste⁹⁶. For a time the mathematical sciences

Literature
restored.

⁹⁶ See the annexed Dissertation on the supposed authenticity of Ossian's Poems.

B O O K
XI.

1755.

were diligently cultivated; and the medical schools established at Edinburgh acquired an high reputation, which is still preserved. But the Scots, when deprived of their own, contemplated the English constitution, in which their passions were less interested, and the affairs of mankind in general, from which they were estranged, with a more discerning, calm, and unprejudiced eye; and in metaphysical, moral and political science, Hume and Smith appear without a competitor, as the first and most original philosophers of the age. The history of England was investigated by Hume, not with the eyes of a patriot but of a philosopher; and from each author whom he consulted, selecting alternately the choicest diction, he constructed an artful narrative, in which strength, precision, elegance, and a copious simplicity are infinitely diversified⁹⁷; a narrative interspersed throughout with the most profound reflections; and, if partial to a particular system or party, enriched with the most philosophical views of the arguments and peculiar opinions of the times. Less acute, argumentative, and profound, but more correct, inventive, and uniformly elegant, Robertson aspired to the native graces of the English language, and added the rare praise of laborious fidelity to the palm of history which Buchanan

⁹⁷ Compare with Clarendon, for example, Hume's narrative of the assassination of Buckingham. The orations of ancient history are justly exploded, as an ornament destitute of verisimilitude, derived originally from the rhetorical schools. Hume's history is liable perhaps to a similar objection; that the views and arguments assigned to each party are too refined and philosophical for the age to which they are ascribed.

originally

originally conferred on Scotland. Their steps were followed by others with unequal success; but a few original authors communicate their taste and literature, if not a portion of their divine spirit to their age or nation; and, instead of that classical erudition which adorns England, but is too apt, perhaps, to degenerate into verbal or grammatical disquisition, philosophy, moral and political, is cultivated in Scotland, and its authors are still distinguished by science and an original freedom of thought and discussion.

BOOK
XL
1755.

The administration of justice was improved by the union. When hereditary jurisdictions were abolished, each county was relieved from the most vexatious oppression, and thirty sheriffships at the disposal of government, soon reconciled the disaffected bar. The supreme judges, whom the government had no interest to bias, ceased to participate in domestic faction; but the court of session was indebted to Forbes for its present purity, which succeeding presidents were assiduous to preserve. Perhaps the least violent, and the most salutary improvement in the administration of justice, is to open the courts of justiciary and exchequer, under able judges, to the same causes which are competent before the session; that when the subjects are admitted, in civil questions, to the cheap and expeditious alternative of a jury trial, the mutual emulation of the three courts may introduce the same simplicity and dispatch into the forms of judicial procedure⁹⁸.

⁹⁸ See Considerations for Dividing the Court of Session into Classes or Chambers, and the Revival of Jury Trial in Civil Actions; by the late lord Swinton.

The presbyterian church, so conspicuous in the history of the former century, has excited little attention during the present. The rights of patronage were restored in the last years of queen Ann. A public toleration was granted to episcopal ministers, using the liturgy, and accepting the oaths to government, which were artfully imposed on the presbyterian clergy, with an implied acknowledgement, to which it was difficult to submit, that the successor to the crown must profess the same communion with the church of England. The obvious design of the tories was to supplant the presbyterians in ecclesiastical government; but of these acts the last has disarmed the intolerance of the clergy; the first has introduced a mild and more liberal spirit into the established church. While the choice of a pastor was lodged with the parish, the clergy were reduced to the necessity of low assentation; and, to preserve their influence over the people, were obliged to cultivate the most popular and fanatical arts. Grace and zeal were invariably preferred to moderation and learning; but the clergy recommended to the notice of the patrons by more laudable arts, acquired a more liberal and enlightened spirit. The austere and morose enthusiasm of their order has been gradually refined; but it may be questioned whether the revival of patronage has contributed to their influence, or the stability of their church. Their dependence on the patron is slight; or of short duration; and when their former connexion with the proprietors was dissolved, a pernicious emulation was naturally excited, productive of litigious and

and endless disputes. The adherents of patronage, in opposition to the popular or wild presbyterians, arranged themselves on the side of the court; but within a few years the intolerance even of these moderate presbyterians occasioned a wide and memorable secession, which undermines, and threatens, at some future period, to overturn their establishment. Whatever fanaticism remains in Scotland is preserved by the *Seceders*, who adhere to the covenants and austere morals of the old presbyterians; and, although divided among themselves, have continued rapidly to encrease, while episcopacy, destitute of enthusiasm for its basis, has almost disappeared.

BOOK
XI.

1755

But the beneficial effects of the union were peculiarly reserved for the present reign. The progress of industry and trade was immense; new manufactures, particularly of silk, were introduced with success; the Scots employed in the late war, returned from abroad with the means or spirit to improve their estates; and the rapid cultivation of the country has redoubled the produce and value of the soil. Before the commencement of the American war the merchants of Glasgow had engrossed the chief trade in tobacco for exportation. The interruption of trade during that disastrous war, directed their capital, and the national industry, to the improvement of domestic arts; and from the perfection of modern machinery, the cotton manufacture, a recent acquisition, in all its branches so prodigiously increased, already rivals and supplants the productions of the ancient looms

Conclusion.

of

BOOK XI.
1755. of Indostan. Doubtless much is to be ascribed to the spirit and progressive state of the nation; but without an union, its unavailing efforts would have still been discountenanced by the commercial jealousy, and depressed by the influence of the English government. The recent benefits of the union are truly inestimable; and if its articles, which are too numerous, and on some occasions preclusive of improvement, have ever been infringed from inadvertence, a British parliament can have few temptations to depart from them by design. National animosities are at length obliterated; and if still regarded as scarcely naturalized, the Scots assimilate so fast to the language, manners, and taste of the English, that the two nations cease to be distinguished in the future history of the British empire.

N O T E S

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE I. p. 14.

BURNET, i. 178. Baillie, ii. 431. Cunningham's Hist. of Britain, i. 13. The fact mentioned by Burnet, and confirmed by these writers, is preposterously questioned by Dr. Campbell. Biog. Brit. iii. 190. But Burnet's veracity, at least in Scottish affairs, is attested throughout by his coincidence with Woodrow's History and original materials; an immense mass of MSS. in the Advocate's Library, which I have carefully inspected. The coincidence is the more remarkable, as Woodrow, who published in 1721, 1722, had never seen Burnet's History, published, the first volume in 1723, the second in 1734. In writing from memory, Burnet neither is, nor pretends to be, always correct in dates; and in his latter days was undoubtedly credulous. But his narrative is neither to be rejected because the dates are displaced, nor the glowing characters of nature to be discarded because they coincide not with the prejudices of party writers. If we compare his narrative and characters with those of Clarendon, and consider how superior they are to every contemporary production, how frequently they have been silently transcribed by succeeding authors,

Hume himself, for instance, who blames them most, how imperfectly their loss would have been supplied by more recent memoirs, we shall discover the real value of Burnet as an historian.

NOTE II. p. 65.

IN the last, and till Forbes was appointed president in the present century, it appears that frequent injustice was incurred from causes being called and decided irregularly, at the president's option; that the presence or absence of particular judges might determine the question according to his mind. To correct this iniquity, the preceding parliament, in an act to regulate judicatures, had ordained: 1. That every cause to be heard in the inner house *should be inrolled, and called* according to the date of its registration: 2. That if a cause is called by anticipation out of its due course, neither party is bound to plead or to appear. It is declared a sufficient defence that the cause was called out of the order of the rolls; and although the parties should not object, the clerks are forbidden to engross or extract the decision of the court. Parl. 1672, cap. 16. § 5. 12. It is difficult to conceive a stronger prohibition; but the parties, not aware of Lauderdale's intention, had not at first objected; the cause was not inrolled, as required by the act; and when reported to the inner house, was not therefore called out of its due course in the rolls. On such miserable chicane does that great lawyer lord Stair place the judgment which he pronounced. Stair's Decisions, Feb. 5th, 1674.

NOTE III. p. 85.

THE only historical facts are, the speech in March, the Archbishop's murder in May, the insurrection in June;

June; circumstances of which the first and last are too remote to be received as cause and effect. The supposed effects of the speech are transcribed by North and Echard, from pamphlets written during the virulence of faction, which contain little else than the political lye of the party or of the day. Nothing is more common in faction than to ascribe the necessary effects of injustice and violence to those who have deprecated and foretold the event; thus the loss of America has been imputed to a speech of the late lord Chatham. But of those who have improved upon North and Echard, Sir John Dalrymple is the most extravagant. Shaftesbury, who, calling in the aid of war to that of party, had maintained a long correspondence, of which not a trace exists, with the discontented Scots, first taught them to complain of the tyranny to which they had long submitted, then instructed the English to feel and resent their sufferings; and lastly, by means of a few copies of an unprinted speech, roused eight thousand fanatical Scots to arms. Is this *historical painting* or the dreams of romance? Dalrymple's Memoirs, i. 266.

NOTE IV. p. 103.

HUME considers Spreule's as an extraordinary case. He was examined on the ordinary questions—was Sharp's death murder? &c. and on an imaginary plot to blow up the palace together with the duke. Dalrymple informs us that Woodrow had gained credit by appealing to the council records which he, sir John, had examined, but found no reason for the imputation that the duke attended when Spreule was tortured. In the first place, although the acts of council, in which its proceedings were never inserted, are still preserved, the council records from 1678 to August 1682, though inspected by Woodrow, have

have been amissing from the public offices above fourscore years. Secondly, Woodrow does not appeal to the council record, but to the more unsuspicious testimony of Spreule himself, who was alive when he wrote. The council record is transcribed by Woodrow; but as the duke's attendance was voluntary, his name is not inserted in the committee appointed to superintend the torture. Dalrymple's Memoirs, i. 13. Woodrow's Hist. MS. Col. vol. iv. 8vo.

The only instance which I have found, of an equivocal humanity in the duke's administration, it would be unjust to suppress. Five young men were selected from the prisoners for the regiments in Flanders; but their behaviour before the privy council was so intrepid or treasonable, that they were remitted to the justiciary court to be condemned and executed, and their heads exhibited as usual on the city walls. Next day four more were produced to be sent to Flanders; but as they began in the same strain, the duke ordered them to be removed that they might not hang themselves with their own tongues. Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 158—60.

NOTE V. p. 135.

THIS rude but affecting declaration may explain their calamities and the extent of their wrongs: "We do hereby testify that we utterly detest and abhor that hellish maxim of killing all who differ in judgment from us. Yet we declare, that whosoever stretch forth their hands against us by shedding our blood, either by authoritative command, such as bloody counsellors, (bloody we say, insinuating thereby an open distinction between the cruel and blood thirsty and the more sober and moderate,) justiciary generals, &c. all who make it their work to embrue their hands in our blood, or by obeying of such commands, as malicious soldiers, gentlemen,

“ gentlemen or commoners, who ride or run with them
 “ to lay hold of us, viperous bishops, curates, and all
 “ such intelligencers and others who at sight of us raise
 “ the hue and cry against us, shall be reputed enemies
 “ to God and the covenanted reformation, and punished
 “ as such, according to our power and the degrees of
 “ their offence ; chiefly if they shall continue obstinately,
 “ and with habitual malice to proceed against us.—But
 “ we do abhor and condemn any personal attempt with-
 “ out previous deliberation, common concert, and suf-
 “ ficient proof, therefore let them be admonished of their
 “ hazard, and specially all ye intelligencers who, by your
 “ informations, render us up that our blood may be shed.”
 Woodrow, ii. App. 137. From Sharp’s murder the
 statesmen had some reason to be apprehensive of their
 lives. But from the nature of their government little
 doubt can be entertained that one part of the nation, but
 for the revolution, would have degenerated into assassins.

NOTE VI. p. 369.

THE following letter from lord Stair to the earl of
 Mar is characteristical and curious.

“ 3d January 1706.

“ I acknowledge the honour of yours of the 25th past,
 “ in which your lordship hath been pleased to give me a
 “ full and cleat view of our affairs, how far they have
 “ been successful, and where there is danger that they
 “ may miscarry.

“ I am convinced the Inglis have done very handsomely
 “ and obligingly in repealing all the clauses of their act
 “ which were either injurious or grievous to us ; and
 “ though there were no more success to be hoped for
 “ from the treaty, yet that same was well worth all the
 “ struggle we had to obtain it ; and it carries an air of
 “ reproof to two sorts of people ; either those who would

" not enter into a treaty because they pretended no good
 " would be got by it, and others who were so fond as
 " to have rendered without any terms, to which it was
 " impossible to have brought our nation or parliament.
 " I shall be sorry if the Inglis insist too peremptorily upon
 " an entire (union) at present. Your lordship knows my
 " sentiments on that matter, that I do firmly believe an
 " incorporating union is the best for both nations; but
 " that may require more time than the present circum-
 " stances do allow; for if we should be so unhappy as to
 " be deprived of her present majesty before the succession
 " is settled, great mischiefs may follow. Therefore I
 " wish that upon the settling of a free trade betwixt the
 " nations and all freedom of the plantations, that the
 " succession were presently declared in our next session
 " of parliament, and that the treaty of an entire union
 " might likewise proceed so as a scheme thereof might be
 " offered to both parliaments; and if more time were
 " found to be necessary for that, yet it needed not stop
 " the other from being presently concluded and declared.

" For the nomination I think your part in stating the
 " difficulty and giving the general opinion, I conclude
 " the court will hardly adventure to make another mixture
 " without either ours or the opinion of our friends here;
 " and if they be of another mind, I think it's our part to
 " submit; if that other brings the matter to a good
 " conclusion, as not to be considered by what hands, and
 " if the affair miscarries you are exonerated; but I am
 " afraid another stop of this kind will render D. Queens-
 " berry so jealous that he will not meddle, and your lord-
 " ship will consider how the business will succeed without
 " him. 'Tis a great happiness for the public and security
 " of the people that the two secretaries, and the great men
 " in the government, are of the same sentiments. So
 " long as you continue so as impossible for business as
 " miscarry; it may stick at one time, but it may do at
 " another.

"another. All the opposition can only retard, but with-
 "out this settlement there is nothing considerable, either
 "ill or good, can be done with us. But though you
 "should not come to open breaches, if there arise diffi-
 "dence or shynefs amongft you, then you ruin yourselves,
 "your friends and country. Therefore the common
 "interest is more to be minded than the particular part
 "that every man is to act. Nor is it always the greateft
 "actor that represents the greateft person ; but the feveral
 "parts are to be given fo as the whole plot may be beft
 "executed. It's only on this point that I fear heart
 "burnings may arise. The court and our friends there
 "should digest and prepare this matter, and I hope the
 "persons fhall acquiefce in what parts friends do affign
 "them ; and whoever be the principal actor, they fhould
 "be contented to act with concert, and to allow others
 "their fhare in the influence and difpofal of things,
 "according to their interest and weight in the party.

"I do not believe that the two dukes will differ in re-
 "lation to the M. of Annandale. He muft either recon-
 "cile and quit his humour before the nomination, or
 "then there will be an end of him.; and there will
 "be the more need of caution to retain our friends here
 "and care to take off fome that were in oppofition. In
 "order to retaining friends it is abfolutely neceffary to
 "finifh what was begun with the northern fquadron. I
 "know it's not your lordfhip's fault that Grant is not
 "provided as yet, but except be fheriff of
 "Rofs, they will never be hearty, for he manages the
 "reft ; and George Brodie is earneft that Captain Brodie
 "be under-chamberlain of Rofs, which has fome diffi-
 "culty ; but it muft either be done, or that kept fair in
 "expectation, which will have great influence in the
 "North ; for though that corner, which had many re-
 "presentatives, are the moft difaffected to the prefent
 "eftablifhment and the fucceffion, yet the matter of
 "trade

“trade is more in their heads than any others in parliament, which may make them easy in the parliament to ratify these good terms that may be obtained in the treaty.

“For getting of some of our opposers I wrote formerly to E. Loudon, how little I believed of advances had been made by the leaders; my lord Arncliffe is very current for the treaty, and that we should take the best terms we could get, for breaking up is ruin; and he says he would not stick at quitting our act of peace and war, which is a fair advance. He is the first baron in parliament, and you will find few of his state to be put upon the treaty. There’s indeed a charm in being engaged into a party in common take men off from their own reason; but yet if he were named and on the treaty, I think I could answer for him, and he is certainly for the constitution. There is another friend of yours of whom I’ll write to Loudon when I have more assurance. He does not desire to be in the treaty, and he is valuable for his tongue, and I think not high in his pretensions. All his friends are of our side, so if he comes there is no fear that he goes off again.

“For military matters, I pretend not to understand them. All these gentlemen are so touchy, that they are ready to mistake or quarrel even what’s done for their service to accommodate all matters. I must say the officers of our army having not frequent occasion of fighting for us, they are to be otherwise useful; and there is such a connection and dependence betwixt the state and the army, that the nomination of officers never was out of the hands of the ministry. No doubt great regard will be had to the recommendation of the commander in chief, as to the recommending of staff officers for the subalterns where no other reason of state interferes. For a new parliament I wish this were
“better;

“better; but till it fail us I would not try another, lest
 “that be worse. I must say the parliament never failed
 “where the ministry was not divided; and in the new
 “elections the party in opposition will have the advantage
 “of us in diligence; and a person inclined to the court
 “is easy put by from being chosen in his country. It
 “would raise a new ferment; whereas our humours
 “rather cool, and it's too true that men who desire easy
 “fair things are seldom so active as those who have
 “worse intentions.”

NOTE VII. p. 327.

LORD GLASGOW, Queensberry's instrument in managing the Scottish parliament, produced on oath under Harley's administration, an account of the distribution of the 20,000*l.* See Lockhart's App. Tindal's Rapin, iii. 777. Anecdotes Biog. and Crit. of eminent men of the present age. Cuninghame endeavours to vindicate his friends, Hist. ii. 61. 352; but they durst not dispute Glasgow's veracity in the account delivered to the house of commons. Marchmont's share was 1104*l.* Tweeddale's 1000*l.* Roxburgh's 500*l.* Montrose's 200*l.* but it is to be observed that the two former obtained no promotion, the two latter were created dukes and had no claim whatever to arrears. Some it is said, who granted no discharges, drew their arrears a second time out of the equivalent, from which Queensberry received 23,000*l.* as commissioner, besides 12,000*l.* the balance of the 20,000*l.* which he was permitted to retain. The reader may be surprised at the small sums (25*l.* 50*l.* 75*l.* 100*l.*) employed as bribes; but when reduced to Scotch money, three, six, nine, and twelve hundred pounds, have a better sound, and are quite adapted to the poverty of the country in these times. The least is lord Banff's 11*l.* 12*s.*; but we discover from Carstairs that his lordship,

lordship, a papist, was so poor as to embrace the protestant faith that he might solicit a small sum for his journey or vote in parliament. Carstairs, 737. Never was an union so cheaply purchased.

Dr. Somerville, in his accurate and impartial history of queen Anne, p. 223, observes that the money was partly distributed as arrears, partly to defray the expence of magistrates, partly to counteract the intended bribery of the French and Dutch. It is not whether the arrears were due, but whether they would have been advanced unless to purchase votes. The marquis of Athol, who received his arrears, but retained his vote, is a singular exception; nor do we know what secret services he might have performed, like Hamilton. But arrears never paid till then, to create influence, are not the less bribes that they were justly due. As the provost of Wigton, the only magistrate, sat in parliament, the money was undoubtedly given for his vote. The bribery intended, but never practised by the Dutch, is a mere egotism of Cunningham's, who affects to have dissuaded them by his influence from the attempt. Hamilton required 20,000*l.* from France to prevent an union; the very sum which Queensberry procured from England. But the smallness of the bribes must be ascribed to the want of competition for the purchase of votes.

NOTE VIII. p. 334.

A LATE historian of the Hamilton family quotes a letter from Middleton to Hamilton, "beseeching his grace, in behalf of his master, to forbear giving any farther opposition to the union, as he had extremely at heart to give to his sister this proof of his ready compliance with her wishes; not doubting but he would one day have it in his power to restore to Scotland its ancient weight and independence." A letter quoted as ex-

tant, might have passed as authentic : but the author, *left any doubt should be entertained that such a letter once existed*, quotes another from Hamilton to his son. "Tell my lord Middleton not to be uneasy about his letter ; I have been too sick to answer it, but I burnt it with other papers for fear of accident." Till a letter mentioning that another was burnt, shall be received as sufficient to authenticate a quotation from that last letter, it will be difficult to persuade the world that Godolphin and Marlborough meant to restore the Stewarts, Harley to secure the protestant succession. Hamilton's Transf. during the reign of queen Anne, p. 43—4.



AN
HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL
DISSERTATION
ON THE SUPPOSED AUTHENTICITY OF
OSSIAN'S POEMS.

AS the poems of Ossian are about to be published in Earle, their supposed original, some reason may be expected for transferring them from the third to the eighteenth century. The argument already explained, in the first volume, (p. 44.) I hold to be unanswerable. In ascribing such primeval refinement to the first and rudest stage of society, we must believe that the highlanders degenerated on emerging from the savage state, and became more barbarous in proportion as they became more civilized. But the believers in Ossian will still require a more minute detection, which infidels may not be displeased to peruse; and unless my opinion is fully vindicated, I shall be accused of an invidious opposition to our national bard, on the eve of his appearance in the original Earle. The detections that occur will exceed the usual latitude indulged in these notes. In reducing, however, the numerous

merous detections, historical and critical, under a few general heads; I. The Roman history of Britain: II. The middle ages: III. Tradition: IV. The customs and manners of the times: V. The real origin of the poems: VI. Imitations of the ancient and modern poets: VII. The pretended originals: VIII. Macpherfon's avowal of the whole imposture; it is my sincere desire to disabuse my countrymen, and, if possible, to put an end to the controversy and the deception for ever.

Detection
of Offian.

I. 1. That the Highlanders, to whom the name of Scots was at first appropriated, originated from Ireland, the ancient *Scotia*, is an historical fact, which was never controverted except by Maitland, Goodall, and the two Macpherfons. The latter have wisely abandoned a millennium of fabulous kings. But the arrival or return of the Scots from Ireland, under Fergus Mac Erth and his brother Loarn, is established by the concurrence of every Scottish and Irish historian; and their first arrival is marked by Bede, under Riada their leader, from whom their settlement was named Dalriada. Their migration is confirmed by the Irish histories, and their arrival fixed at the year 258, when a colony was first conducted by Riada to Argyle. In the next century they occur in Marcellinus, under the designation of Attacotti and Scots, a new people, unknown to Ptolemy, who retained the same settlements in Argyle till expelled by the Picts. But whether their first migration and arrival from Ireland is placed at 258, under Cairbar Riada, or postponed till 503, when restored by Fergus, it is an historical fact that there was not a highlander in Scotland, of the present race, at the beginning of the era assigned to Fingal¹.

¹ See in Whitaker's *Genuine History of the Britons* asserted, a full confutation of Macpherfon's objections to Bede, and of the descent of the Irish from the Caledonian Scots. See *Usher*, *Stillingfleet*. *Kennedy*. *Pinkerton's Introduction*, &c.

2. Macpherson had discovered from O'Flaherty and Keating, that Fingal and his heroes were real characters in the history of Ireland, whose true era was from the middle to the end of the third century. In appropriating these heroes to the highlands of Scotland, he found a convenient chasm in the history of Britain under the Romans, and connected Fingal with Caracalla in 208, and with Carausius the usurper in 286, to ascertain his era without recourse to Ireland, and escape detection during the intermediate period. His reign and exploits are prolonged in the Temora to the battle of Gabhra, where Oscar was killed by Cairbar in 296², with the same propriety as if a youthful patriot, who resisted an union in the Scottish parliament, were again introduced at the end of the century, opposing an union with Ireland in the British senate. By connecting his Poems, however, with Roman history, Macpherson has incurred the most egregious detections. The absurdity was remarked by Gibbon, that the highland bard should describe the son of Severus "by a nickname invented four years afterwards, scarcely used by the Romans till after the death of that emperor, and seldom employed by the most ancient historians³." The detection is as complete with respect to Carausius. In the middle of the ninth century the fabulous Nennius placed the

From Roman history.

² The battle of Gabhra, in which the Fions or Clan Beiskia were destroyed, is placed by O'Flaherty in 291, but by most others in 296. Ledwich Antiquities of Ireland, p. 10. Campbell's Strictures on the History of Ireland, p. 185. O'Halloran's Hist. of Ireland, i. 280. The book of Houth, and other Irish Annals, render the fact indisputable; (Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, i. 118.) and the period was sufficiently within the reach of traditionary history, on the introduction of letters by St. Patrick. See Pinkerton's Introduction to the History of Scotland, ii. 74.

³ Gibbon's History, i. 8. 209. Macpherson gives three etymologies of Caracalla; carac-huil, terrible eye; carac-healla, terrible look; carac-challamh, a sort of (terrible) upper garment. Ossian, li. 222. edit. 1773.

wall of Severus between the Forth and the Clyde, and represented Carausius as the contemporary and successor of that emperor, revenging his defeat and death on the natives; repairing and fortifying his wall with seven castles; erecting Arthur's oven as a monument of his victories, and imposing his own name on the river Carron. That Severus's wall, if ever erected, extended nearly in a line with Hadrian's, from the Tine to Solway, and that the country, within the wall of Antoninus, between the Forth and the Clyde, was abandoned by Carracalla, a fact unknown to Macpherson, is fully established by every English writer, Usher excepted, from Bede to Horsely and Roy. Buchanan, whom alone he consulted, was deceived by Nennius; and on this wretched fable the additional fictions of Ossian are constructed. Fingal is represented in Comala as encountering Caracalla on the banks of the Carron; and returning in Carrick Thura from an incursion into the Roman province of Valentia, which did not then exist; and in Cromia, Oscar opposes Caros, king of Ships, entrenched at Carron behind his gathered heap, which, as the wall in Scotland was not built by Severus, Carausius the usurper did not repair. Macpherson, from his gathered heap or collection of stones, imagined that the stone wall ascribed to Severus (*ad murum*, Newcastle) belonged to Scotland, and was ignorant that Agricola merely erected a chain of Forts; Antoninus, a vallum or turf rampart and trench*. Trusting to the Scottish antiquaries, he is equally ignorant that the interpolator of Nennius is the sole foundation for the battles and buildings of Carausius at Carron, and the only authority on which it is celebrated by Buchanan and himself, as the furthest limit of the Roman empire.

* Nennius, cap. 148—51, Horsley's *Brit. Rom.* l. i. c. 9, 10. Pinkerton, i. 45. Innes' *Crit. Essay*, i. 15. Gordon's *Itin. Septentrionale*. Key's *Mil. Ant.*

" Hic contenta suos defendere fines
 " Roma securigeris prætendit mœnia Scotis,
 " Hic spe progressus posita, Caronis ad undam,
 " Terminus aufonii signat divortia regni."

BUCH. ii. 56.

3. Carron, assigned by Buchanan as the term of the Roman empire, and the scene of Douglas, a tragedy then so popular, Glencoe, or Cona, infamous from the massacre of Glenco, Dumbarton, the Alcluith of Bede, the most noted or classical places in Scotland, are thus, by a dexterous anticipation, appropriated to Ossian. Balclutha, in the poem of Carthon, was burnt by Comhal, the father of Fingal. Dumbarton could not have escaped the accurate observation of Ptolemy, a contemporary, had it existed then. The Romans, when the wall of Antoninus was erected in 140, would neither have permitted the Britons to retain a fortress of such considerable strength, nor could Dumbarton, in the second century, have been destroyed by Comhall, from its extreme vicinity to the end of the wall. The fact appears to be, that it was built by the Romans, and named 'Theodofia', from Theodosius, Valentinian's general, who recovered in 367, and erected the country abandoned by Caracalla, into the province of Valentia, between the walls. Balclutha, therefore, had no existence when it was sacked by Comhall; and I suspect much that the incident is derived from the destruction of Dumbarton in the ninth century, by the Danes from Ireland.

Dumbarton

Not then
 built.

The

5 " Maximus hic visitur lacus, cui nomen olim Lyncalidor; ad cujus
 " ostium condita a Romanis urbs Alcluith, brevi tempore a duce Theodosio
 " nomen sortita, qui occupatam a barbaris provinciam recuperavit: cum
 " hac comparari potuit nulla; utpote quæ post fractas cæteras circumja-
 " centes provincias impetum hostium ultimo sustinuit." Richard of
 Cirencester, l. i. c. 6. If the authority of Richard is denied, the silence
 of Ptolemy, who enumerates the towns of each nation, is decisive
 against the existence of Alcluith in the second century. Alano has
 been

Balclutha
a fictitious
name.

The name itself is an additional detection. When erected by the Romans it retained the name of Theodosia and the privileges of a Latin town, (jus Latii,) till transferred on their departure to the native Britons who formed the kingdom of Strathclyde Welsh. On becoming their capital, it received, or perhaps recovered, the name of *Alcluyd*, explained by Bede the rock of Clyde. Unable to discover the word in Earle, Macpherfon imagined that Bede was mistaken, and translated the Gothick, and comparatively recent names of Duncledon and Dunbarton, the town of the Britons, into Balclutha, the town of Clyde⁶. But that Bede's etymology was correct, and Macpherfon's a fictitious name of his own, is proved not only by Richard, but Adomnan, who preceded Bede, and translated *Alcluyth* into *Petracloith* in his life of Columba.

Orkney.

4. Fingal's intercourse with other nations contains the same minute yet conclusive detections. Innistore, the isles of wild boars, which occurs in an Irish ballad to be quoted in the sequel, is transferred by Macpherfon to the Orkney isles. Conscious that *torre* never signified a whale in Earle, Smith converts the name into Innis-orc, or Orc-innis, the isle of whales, from the Latin orca or the English orc, introduced into their language by the Irish priests. It is evident that Macpherfon, who was far gone in Celtic etymology, inverted or translated the Orkneys into Earle, and converted the name into Inistore, (Torry

been transferred from Stirling to Keir, and the *Castra Alata* from Edinburgh to Cramond or Inverness. As Alcluth was so long unoccupied, it is singular that the Romans, adhering to an established plan of defence, neglected three such natural fortresses as Dumbarton, Edinburgh, and Stirling, for a line of forts and a wall from frith to frith.

⁶ Macpherfon, who might discover in Goodall's Introduction to Fordun (published 1759) the destruction of Alcluyth in 870 by the Danes, imagined that *Al* a rock was a mistake of Bede's for *Ball* a town. Duncledon, which he evidently translates Balclutha, has no authority, I suspect, but Baxter's emendation of the Clidum of Ravennas. He has given us another town, Balteutha, to be still discovered on the Tweed.

isle on the west of Ireland,) for the benefit of the found^r. But the Orkney isles, which he peoples with Scandinavians, were either uninhabited then, or possessed by the same Picts whom he confounds indiscriminately in Scotland, both with the Cimbric Britons and Irish Celts. Solinus, a contemporary of Fingal, describes the islands in 240 as destitute equally of inhabitants and woods, and covered only with shrubs or heath; "Orcades numero tres; vacant homine; non habent fylvas; tantum junceis herbis inhorrescunt; cætera earum nudae arenæ et rupes terrent^s." From his coincidence with Ptolemy in the number of the Hebrides, in which he departs from Pliny whom he generally transcribes, we must conclude that *tres* is a manuscript mistake for the *triginta* of Mela. But from this accurate and picturesque description, I prefer his authority that the islands were then uninhabited, to Tacitus' vague account of Agricola's fleet, "quas Orcades vocant, invenit domuitque," or the poetical fictions of Claudian in the fourth century, who peoples Thulé with Picts, and the Orkneys with Saxons, instead of the Saxon isles. Their first inhabitants were the same Picts who inhabited Scotland. The Norwegians had not acquired in the sixth, nor begun to people the islands till the eighth century, when the petty princes of Norway were expelled by Harold. But Macpherson, ignorant that

Deserted,
or possessed
by Picts.

⁷ Smith's Gaelic Antiquities, 231. Collectan. Hibern. iii. 370. See in Macpherson's Introduction to the History of Britain a ridiculous list of Latin words, among others, *sericum*, *seriam*, silk, derived from the Earle. His etymology of Britain is curious; *braid*, extensive, *broad*, in land. Ossian, i. 206. Thus these Celtic etymologists return us our own words as well as our own poems for Earle.

⁸ Solinus, cap. 35, where Richard seems to have read *Triginta*, l. i. cap. 8. The Orkneys, from the earliest Norwegian accounts, were without trees. Solinus is generally accurate, though ridiculed for depriving Ireland of bees. But Giraldus Cambrensis, who mentions their introduction, ascribes their scarcity to the high winds and humidity of the climate, and the noxious yews which were numerous then. Cambr. Topogr. Hiber. l. i. c. 5.

they

they were destitute even then of wood, and utterly desert unless possessed by the Picts, discriminates the Orkneys by the circle of Loda, and diversifies the scenery with aged trees, the flaming or the fallen oak, and a rock with all its echoing wood.

No intercourse with Lochlin.

5. In the episode of Conban-carglas, daughter of Torcul-torno king of Lulan, (for the names in the Cathloda are at least romantic,) we are required to believe that the highlanders were acquainted with Torneo and Lulea by name, at the bottom of the gulph of Bothnia, in Swedish Lapland, at a time when the Romans had no knowledge of Scandinavia beyond the Wener lake. Currachs of ozier, covered with hides, were the only vessels which the highlanders possessed; and as they were neither pirates nor traders, nor sailors, nor addicted ever to the sea, we may truly affirm that they never passed into Scandinavia in a single ship. The invasions from Lochlin, a name unknown till the ninth century, are equally fabulous. The Suiones, distinguished by Tacitus as the only northern nation possessed of ships, were still ignorant, in the second century, of the use of sails⁹. The Franks, instructed by the singular and recent escape of their countrymen, who circumnavigated Europe from the Euxine to the Rhine, were the only maritime people that infested the coasts of Britain till the Saxons appeared. Had the Norwegians applied so early to piracy or to the sea, as they must have been attracted by plunder to the southern shores, instead of Ireland, so their predatory expeditions could not have escaped the observation of the Romans, when Carausius was employed to intercept the Franks¹⁰.

Unknown in the third century.

Detections from the middle ages.

II. 1. These historical detections conduct us to the invasions of Scotland and Ireland, in the middle ages, by the Norwegians and Danes, to whom the traditionary

⁹ Tacitus Germ. c. 44.

¹⁰ See Gibbon, ii. 84. 123. 8vo. who is careful to distinguish the Franks from the Saxons.

by

poems in the highlands refer. Shaw, Hill, and the bishop of Clonmore, who have searched the highlands successively for originals, discovered no traditions whatever of Swaran; but of Magnus Barefoot, who, seizing Canmore and the Isles, was killed in Ireland in the beginning of the twelfth century, and by an anachronism not uncommon in traditions, is represented in some rude ballads as encountering Fingal. The name is retained by Smith, another reverend translator of those ballads into heroic poems; and Swaran, in the first fragments of Fingal, before the author had digested his plan, is denominated Garve, a literal translation of Magnus into Earle. But Macpherson perceived the traditionary anachronism; and to render the king of Norway contemporary with Fingal, converted Magnus into the fictitious Swaran.

2. In Carrick-Thura, an heroic poem, Fingal, returning from an expedition into the Roman province, falls next day to visit his friend Cathula, the son of Sarno, king of Inistore. Under the names of Cathula (pronounced Cat-huil) the son of Sarno, altered and adapted to Celtic poetry, it is easy to discern Ketil, the son of Biarno, celebrated in Icelandic genealogies as lord of the Hebudes, of whom some traditionary report may be preserved in those islands. When the Western Isles were recovered by the Norwegian pirates from Harold Harfagre, of whom Macpherson has made some mention in the maid of Lulan, Ketil, a Norwegian employed to regain them, established himself there as an independant prince. Instead, however, of being a contemporary of Caracalla, or Carausius the usurper, Cathula the friend of Fingal, and the Norwegian lord of the Hebudes, lived in the beginning of the tenth century, and was connected, by the marriage of his daughters, not with the king of Morven, but with the petty princes of Dublin and Man.

3. But

11 Ketil multis præliis, perpetuo victoriarum cursu, feliciter insulas domuit, foederibus deinde præcipuis occidentalium regionum Principibus,

Carrick-
Thura.

3. But what shall we say to Carrick-Thura, the palace of the king of Inistore? In transferring his residence to Orkney, it was necessary to find a local habitation and a name. Thura is the name of a place in Caithness, of which the author had probably heard in Badenoch; and in searching Mackenzie's maps, he discovered a Carrick in Orkney, which, when conjoined with Thura, seemed to approximate sufficiently towards a local appellation¹³. Thura and Thurso are undoubtedly names of the same Norwegian or Gothic original; but unfortunately for the authenticity of the poem, Carrick is a recent name, of Celtic etymology, never known in those islands, till it was imposed by Stewart earl of Carrick on a house which he built there in the last century.

Circle of
Loda.

4. The author discovered in Wallace's description, and Mackenzie's maps of the Orkneys, a remarkable circle of stones, similar to Stonehenge, which, whether erected by the Picts or Norwegians, he has appropriated to his poetry, and dedicated to Loda. That they were raised by the Norwegians in the ninth century, and dedicated to Woden, a traditionary name, appears indisputable. But the origin of Loda, which has no affinity to the twelve names of Odin, seems to perplex the commentators on Ossian. Mallet's Introduction to the History of Denmark, which was recently published, suggested the idea, and the name was compounded from Odin and

et affinitate per filiarum conjugia sibi conciliatis, earum possessionem sibi confirmavit. Torfaeus Orcades, 14. See Eyrbyggja Saga, p 5; Smith's Sean Dana for Cathuil, p. 160.

¹³ Aboriginal Gaelic names of mountains are preserved in Wales (Lloyd's *Archæologia* Pref.); Welch or Cimbrick names in Scotland; and the names of the Western Isles, and along the coast of Caithness are still Norwegian. The Picts, whom the Norwegians found in Orkney, (Diploma in Wallace,) have bestowed their name on the Petland frith which divides it from Scotland; but the Pictish names of hills and isles are not to be discriminated from the Norwegian; a proof, at least, that the Picts were not Celts. Nor is there a Celtic name, the unfortunate Carrick excepted, to be found in Orkney.

the

the Edda, with the French article *L'Oda* prefixed. The author asserts in a note that the circles of stones in Orkney retain to this day the name of *Loda* or *Loden*, and appeals to Mallet, as a proof that the temple built by Haquin at Drontheim went always under the same name of *Loden*. The first assertion I know to be false; and every reader may satisfy himself of the second. "*Haco*," (in 978 appointed tributary earl of Norway by the Danes) "built a temple at *Laden*, near Drontheim, "not inferior to that at *Upsal*."¹⁴ When the author cannot adhere to the truth, in an appeal to books to which we have access, the world must be forgiven for rejecting the authenticity of the poems, when he appeals to traditions to which there is no access.

III. 1. Among the common class of mankind, it is Tradition observed by Mallet that a son remembers his father, knows something about his grandfather, but never bestows a thought on his more remote progenitors. The same argument has always convinced the learned, that poems preserved upwards of fifteen hundred years by oral tradition, was a fiction utterly unworthy of credit. "It "is indeed strange," says Hume in a letter to Gibbon, "that any man of sense could have imagined it possible, "that above twenty thousand verses, along with num- "berless historical facts, could have been preserved by "oral tradition, during fifty generations, by the rudest, "perhaps, of all the civilized nations, the most necessitous, "the most turbulent, and the most unsettled."¹⁵ To estimate the full force of this argument, let us remember that three fourths of the civilized world have been employed, since the era of Fingal, in the recitation of poems neither so long nor so intricate as Ossian's; and consider

¹⁴ Haquin Comte de Norvege en avoit bati un pres de Drontheim, a *Laden*, (the territory, not the temple,) qui ne cedoit gueres á celui d'*Upsal*. Mallet's *Intr.* i. 79. from *Ol. Wormius. Dan.* p. 6. *Ossian*, ii. 104.

¹⁵ Gibbon's *Mem.* i. 149. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, i. 52.

how small a portion of the psalms or liturgy can be preserved by memory, much less transmitted by oral tradition, for a single generation.

Mutability
of language.

2. In the fragments published in 1760, the translator, to prove their antiquity, assures us that "the diction is very obsolete, and differs widely from the style of such poems as have been written in the same language two or three centuries ago." That the poems were preserved by oral tradition, in an obsolete diction, or, in other words, a dialect already disused by the people, is alone sufficient to confute their authenticity. The mutability of language is counteracted only by letters and the art of printing; which, reacting as a model on conversation, preserve and perpetuate an uniform and refined dialect, through the whole nation, from age to age. An unwritten language diverges in each province into a different dialect, and in every age assumes a new form, although the syntax and radical structures may remain. A tune, a tale, a genealogy, a ballad that adopts the diction of each generation, is the utmost ever preserved by tradition; and although the Scottish melodies are undoubtedly ancient, the songs themselves are of a recent date. But the Earle remained an unwritten language till the present age. That it has remained invariably the same language, since the first migration of the highlanders to Scotland, is disproved by its difference from the parent Irish, a page of which, a few centuries old, is confessedly unintelligible to the people at present¹⁶. That any traditionary poems of Ossian, of a remote antiquity, are preserved in the highlands, is refuted by an obvious fact; instead of connecting their clans with the Fions, or heroes of Fingal, their bards or seanachies have given to Scotland their own series of Dalriadick kings. Fordun and Winton, unable to discover materials for their histories in Scotland, had

¹⁶ O'Connor's Ogygia vindicated, p. 20.

recourse to Ireland. At the coronation of Alexander III. the highland genealogist introduced by Fordun and his continuators, to recite the royal pedigree, instead of ascending from Fergus Mac Erth to Erth, Congal, Fergus, Fingal, and from thence, according to Macpherson's egregious fictions, to Comhal, Trathal, Trenmor, proceeds through the whole fabulous race, not forgetting Riada, to Fergus I. a sufficient proof that there was no tradition then of the six kings of Morven, whom the highlanders would have communicated to Scotland, along with their genuine list of kings. The genealogy of the clans has been pushed to the utmost, but not a single family is derived from the Fions. They were unknown to Monro, dean of the Isles, in his genealogy of the clans, and are mentioned in Buchanan's Surnames as an Irish militia commanded by Fion-macoel, concerning whose huge stature and exploits, "diverse rude rhymes were retained by the Irish and some of the highlanders;" but Martin, who mentions the same traditions, and enumerates some Irish manuscripts found in South Uist, Lloyd, and Mackenzie, to whom they were communicated, were equally ignorant of the kings of Morven, and of Ossian's Poems ¹⁷.

3. No sooner were the translations published than the traditionary existence of the poems disappeared. Of the numerous attestations from those who had *heard* or re-

Attestations.

¹⁷ Monro's Description of the Western Isles and Genealogy of the Clans, MS. Adv. Lib. W. Buchanan's Hist. of the Buchanans and Scottish Surnames, p. 12. Martin's Western Isles, 89. 152. 219. The manuscripts of Beaton, which Martin mentions, were examined by Lloyd, who found three leaves of Cairbar Lifachair's history which Sir George Mackenzie quoted against Stillingfleet, but was unable to read. Stillingfleet justly observed, that Cairbar, an Irish king in 284, had been turned into an author by mistake. Origines Britannicæ Pref. 42. But Sir George, who discovered the history of Cairbar, (the prince that killed Oscar at Cabhra, and appears so conspicuous in the Temera,) was still ignorant of Fingal and the kings of Morven, in his researches among the highlanders concerning the antiquity of the royal line. Nicholson's Scottish Hist. Library, ch. ii. p. 24. Mackenzie, ii. 430.

membered to have *known* the originals none, it is observable, ever presumed to assert that they possessed in writing, or could repeat from memory, much less that they had originally furnished a single fragment of the poems which Macpherson had translated. When Johnson visited the Western Isles, the natives had nothing to communicate that deserved attention. Stone, a collector who preceded Macpherson, Shaw, the author of the Gaelic Dictionary, Mr. Hill, an English gentleman, Dr. Young, the present bishop of Clonmore, Sir James Foulis, an enthusiast for Celtick poetry, discovered only such rude rhymes of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, as, Ossian's religious dispute with St. Patrick, the battle between Fingal and Magnus, the combats with Con, Muirartack, Ullin king of Spain, Erragon of Lochlin; the death of Oscar, of Deirdar, and of Dermid who trod on the poisonous bristles of a wild boar he had slain¹⁸. In their research for manuscripts, Johnson's assertion remained undisproved, that there was not an Earse manuscript above a century old. As a proof that the highlanders were neither rude and illiterate, nor the Earse an unwritten language in Ossian's days, we are gravely told, in reply to Johnson, that the Druids, when expelled from Scotland,

¹⁸ See Mr. Hill's Collection in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1782, 3. Dr. Young's in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. i. From Stone, a schoolmaster at Dunkeld, whose poetry appeared in the Scots Magazine 1796, discovered nothing but those Irish ballads described above. The late sir James Foulis applied to Earse, in his old age, in order to read the epic poems of Ossian in the original; but when he had acquired the language the epic poems were not to be found. He had nothing to contribute to the Perth edition of Gaelic poetry but those Irish ballads; and in his letters, which I am permitted to transcribe, he inveighs bitterly against Macpherson. "Ossian Macpherson is an execrable fellow. "In spite of all that has been said, or ever may be advanced, in favour of "the authenticity of Ossian's Poems, the concealing his originals will always "be looked on as a convincing proof that he has forged them himself. It is "demonstrable that he has used great juggling about what he calls the two "epic poems of Fingal and Temora, and he will probably never shew the "original poems."

retired to Iona, where they established a college, and lived and taught unmolested till dispossessed in the sixth century by Columba ¹⁹. There is no proof but conjecture that the Druids ever existed in Ireland, where their human sacrifices, their divination from human victims, and their favourite doctrine of the metempsychosis were unknown ²⁰. The fact appears to be certain that there never was a Druid in Scotland; otherwise Tacitus, who describes the destruction of their order in England, must have remarked their influence or existence under Galgacus in the Caledonian war. The man who can thus create an historical fact, requires nothing but genius to fabricate an epic poem. But when manuscripts are appealed to, let a single book of Fingal in manuscript, such as translated by Macpherson, of an older date than the present century, be produced and lodged in a public library, and there is an end of the dispute. Macpherson of Strathmashe, a poet who assisted in transcribing the poems from old manuscripts, or oral tradition, or whose poetry, I presume, is, in other words, intermixed with his kinsman's, affirms that one of the old manuscripts which he read or transcribed, was dated in 1410; and the credulous Kaims, in his 'Sketches of Man, was persuaded to assert that the four first books of Fingal were contained in a Gaelic manuscript, written on vellum in 1403, which the translator found in the isle of Skye ²¹. In Trinity College,

Manu-
scripts.

¹⁹ Smith's Gaelic Antiquities, 68.

²⁰ Cæsar, l. 6. c. 13. The name is nothing. Druid, in the Celtick, signifies merely a wise man or wizard. But we discover no trace in Ireland, on the arrival of St. Patrick, of the doctrines or human sacrifices of the Druids, whose groves were *sanctis superstitionibus sacri*, and who intermixing a Phœnician superstition with barbarous rites, *crucore captivo adulere aras, et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant*. Tacit. Ann. l. 14. c. 30. Strabo, l. 4. p. 198. An established and well disciplined priesthood like the Druids, would have resisted, and might have prevented the introduction of Christianity into Ireland. But the most learned and rational of the Irish antiquaries, Ledwich and Campbell, are still tenacious of the Druids, and the Tuath de Danan; undoubtedly a colony of Damii from Britain."

²¹ Blair's Dissertation on Ossian; App. Kaims's Sketches, l. 426. The copy of Winton's Chronicle in the Royal Library, the oldest Scotch manu-

lege, Dublin, and perhaps in the highlands, there are Irish manuscripts of the ballads published by Hill, Miss Brooks, and the bishop of Clonmore. The red book of Clanronald's bard, to which such frequent and confident appeals were made, was recovered from Macpherfon, and contains the genealogy and exploits of the Macdonalds under Montrose, Colkitto and others, down to 1686, when it was probably written; with some short songs of the present century by Macvuirick the bard, but not a single syllable of Ossian's Poems²².

But

script extant, is not older than 1421, nor later perhaps than 1430. D. Macpherfon's edit. p. 31.

²² The red book of Clanronald, (*Leabhar Dearg*), from the candid communication of the highland society, is now in my hands. It is a duodecimo bound volume, of an hundred and fifty leaves, in the Irish character, which the Macvuiricks understood and wrote, dated, in the middle of the songs, Sept. 8, 1726; but the boards and a few leaves of the beginning and end are lost, and these, it is shrewdly suspected, contained the original poems of Ossian. What is more to the purpose, this is the only MS. specified in Blair's Appendix as communicated to Macpherfon. "Mr. Angus Macneil, minister of South Uist, affirms that Mr. Macdonald, a parishioner of his, declares that he had often seen and read a great part of an ancient MS. once in the possession of the family of Clanronald, and afterwards carried to Ireland, containing many of these poems;—and that Niel Macmurrick, whose predecessors had for many generations been bards to the family of Clanronald, declared also, in his presence, that he had often seen and read the same old MS. and that he himself gave to Mr. Macpherfon a manuscript containing some of the poems, which are now translated and published." Had Macpherfon received more than a single volume, the parish minister must have known the fact, when he discovered that a MS. had been sent to Ireland, which, instead of Ossian's poems, appears from Martin, who enumerates the MSS. found in South Uist, &c. to have been a life of Columba, then in the possession of Macdonald of Benbecula, afterwards chief of Clanronald. Martin's *West Isles*, 264. The family knew of no other than that and Macvuirick's, whose son is still alive to attest the fact. Smith and Macnicol knew of no other when they appealed with such effrontery to the red book of Macvuirick, and the red rhymers, a folio MS. which Macpherfon got from Macdonald of Glenalladale or Kyles; (Smith's *Gaelic Antiq.* 95. 125. Macnicol's *Remarks*, 304.) and these apparently are the two genealogies which Martin quotes: "Thus far the genealogist Macvuirick and Hugh Macdonald, in their manuscripts," p. 212. The many duodecimos into which the MS. is now multiplied, are therefore the identical red book of Clanronald, of the same size and Irish character,

But the four first books of Macpherfon's Fingal in Earfe, written at the beginning of the fifteenth century, in the short interval between Fordun's and Winton's Chronicles, twenty years before the oldest manuscript extant in the Scottish language, is a literary curiosity or forgery which the world has not yet seen.

character, which I never yet met with a highlander able distinctly to read; the beginning of the fourteenth and of the fifteenth centuries, in which they are said to have been written, are the genealogical dates, 1330 and 1400, which Macpherfon of Strathmashe, and others, mistook for the date of the volume; the vellum, illuminated letters, and number of volumes, at the distance of forty years, are merely gratuitous; and Paul Macvuirick, Clanronald's bard, who transcribed or collected Ossian's Poems in the beginning of the fourteenth century, (1300! before the Clanronald family had separated from the lords of the isles,) is no other than Niall Macmhuirick 1726, whose name is annexed in the Irish character to most of the songs. That there are some manuscripts of antiquity in the highlands, I have no doubt; but these are evidently Irish, as the characters are neither familiar to the highlanders nor the contractions understood by their best scholars; and the knowledge which the Macvuiricks acquired of the Irish character, is to be explained by the education of the seanachies, genealogists, or bards, in Ireland. Macnicol, 268. Whoever considers the former intercourse of the Western Islands and Argyle with Ireland, will not be surprised that some Irish MSS. imported by the priests or bards, as well as the Irish tales of the Fions, are discovered in the highlands. I have seen one of undoubted antiquity, but it is an Irish MS. containing the history of Fergus Roigh king of Ulster. A collection of Earfe songs, in the common hand of the last century, at the end of which it was written, demonstrates that the highlanders were unacquainted then with the Irish character; and the new testament of bishop Bedel's Irish bible, was reprinted by Kirk, 1698, in the Roman letter, professedly because the Irish character was difficult and less understood. These observations are applicable to Mr. Astle's specimens of eight MSS. procured from the highlands, of which four relate to the fabulous history of Ireland, and are undoubtedly Irish; three are moral or religious, and grammatical treatises, sciences of which the highlanders were never suspected; but the last, a collection of poems of the fifteenth century, of which the specimen is inscribed Cathal Macmuirnuigh cc. is considered as more indisputably Earfe. Orig. of Writing, 126. But the inscription is evidently superadded above the illuminated letter, in a larger and apparently a different hand; and as the same title, Cathal and Cathal Macmuirneach ccy. is prefixed in the same character to different ballads in the red book, we can only conclude that the old MS. belonged also, in the present century, to the same Macvuirick, who inserted his own name above a favourite song.

Manners

IV. 1. The contradiction is not greater, between the primeval refinement ascribed to the highlanders and their recent barbarism, than between their real manners at the period of Fingal and those described in the poems of Ossian. When invaded by Severus, the Caledonians and Mæatæ between the walls are minutely described both by Dio and Herodian. The former observes that they possess dry and rugged hills, or desert and marshy plains. Destitute of walls, of towns, and of agriculture, they subsist by pasturage, hunting, or fruits, (for they abominate fish though abundant,) and reside in booths, naked and without shoes, using their women, and supporting their children, in common. Their government is mostly democratical. They delight in robbery, and fight from cars, with small and swift horses; but their infantry is equally firm in action and rapid in pursuit or flight. Their arms are a shield, a dagger, and a short dart, with a brazen apple towards the point, to astonish the enemy with the sound when brandished. They are inured to hunger, cold, and fatigue; immersed in their morasses, with their heads only above water, they can endure hunger for many days, or subsist on roots and bark in the woods. "Towards the sea," says Herodian, "most parts of Britain are full of marshes, through which the barbarians are accustomed to swim or wade, disregarding the mud, as they are almost naked; for they are unused to cloaths, encircling their loins and neck with ornaments of iron, a mark of wealth which they prize like gold. Their bodies are stained with figures of animals. They are warlike and blood-thirsty; armed only with a narrow shield and a lance, with a sword depending from their naked bodies; but without helmet or mail, which they deem an impediment in crossing their marshes, whose vapours perpetually obscure the sky." Such were our savage Caledonian ancestors; the present highlanders had not then arrived; but their Irish ancestors were still more barbarous. *Gens inhospita et bellicosa,*

says Solinus. *Sanguine interemptorum hausto, prius victores vultus suos oblinunt. Fas ac nefas eodem animo ducunt.* Jerom, an eye witness, asserts that, in the third century, the Attacotti were addicted to human flesh. Although we reject the fact, with the community of women among the Caledonians, a people obnoxious to such imputations must have been truly barbarous, and we are assured by Gildas that the Picts, and their allies the Scots, were still savages at the departure of the Romans. *Emergunt certatim de carucis, tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges, moribus ex parte dissidentes, & una eademque sanguinis fundandi aviditate concordēs; furciferosque magis vultus pilis, quam corporum pudenda, pudendisque proxima, vestibus tegentes* ²³.

2. When we return to the poems of Ossian, I should insult the reader's understanding were I to expatiate on the gross contradictions between the generous heroes, the chaste or lovesick maids, clad in complete steel; feasting from sparkling shells, in the halls of mossy towers, traversing the northern ocean in large ships, yet subsisting solely on venison; and those naked, sanguinary barbarians, armed with a small shield, a dart, a dagger; almost destitute of iron, which they prized like gold; residing promiscuously in wattled booths, and possessed of no navigation but curachs, which crossed the Irish channel, says Solinus, during a few days only at the summer solstice. If the poems, though not quite so ancient, are said to be still authentic, my answer is this: As the hunting, pastoral, and agricultural stages of society, the virtue, and supreme felicity of the savage stage, are the peculiar doctrines of modern times, the poems must either belong to the present age or to the age which they describe; and if once admitted that the poems are ascribed to Ossian by a posterior bard, the conclusion is inevitable; that there was no age so likely as the present, none so capable as Macpherson to produce the imposture. The Caledo-

Compared
with
Ossian's.

²³ Dio Cassius, l. 21. p. 339. Herodian, l. 3. c. 47. Solinus, ch. 30. Gildas, ch. 15.

nians and Irish, if destitute of agriculture ²³, were already far advanced in the pastoral state; their horses and cattle were domesticated; their cars are infallible marks of a pastoral nation, recently migratory; in the Hebudes they subsisted on milk and fish; but the poems of Ossian are descriptive of the manners and customs of every age but those of his own. The allusions to herds and harvests, which occurred in the first Fragments, were easily suppressed; but the translator knew not what to avoid, nor what customs to ascribe to the age. No religious adoration, sacrifices, or rites; nothing peculiar to the age is described; but the savage state is gratuitously invested with more than the generous gallantry of chivalry, the morals of christianity, or the sentimental affectation of the present times.

Religion
omitted.

3. But religion was avoided, as a dangerous topic that led to detection. The gods and rites of the Caledonians were unknown; and for this omission, the translator informs us, from the most authentic tradition, that the Druids were extirpated by Trenmor the great grandfather of Fingal. Not satisfied with such authentic tradition, the other Macpherson assures us, with the same plausibility, that as religion was appropriated to the Druids, epic and heroic poetry to the bards, Ossian durst not encroach on the province of those whom his ancestor had expelled ²⁴. In rude societies, religion is interwoven, and so intimately blended with the fine arts which it supports, that unless supported in return by poetry, painting, sculpture, music, or eloquence, it must cease to exist. From the danger, however, or the difficulty of inventing a religious mythology, the author has created a savage society of refined atheists, who believe in ghosts but not in deities, and are ignorant or indifferent to the existence of superior powers.

²³ The Earle etymology of Cruithnich, wheat-eaters, the name of the Picts (from Cruthen the first Pictish king) is an admirable proof that wheat was the bread-corn of Scotland before the birth of Christ.

²⁴ Ossian, ii. 218. Dr. Macpherson's Critical Dissertation, 207.

4. The same difficulty occurred in the adaptation of Customs. Circumstances, peculiar customs, or rites, to the age. A nation was never destitute of some name for its favourite liquor; but mead is still unknown in the highlands: without agriculture there was neither whiskey nor ale; and the beverage of the Celts was left to obscure conjectures on the strength of shells; Roman wine, as Macpherson insinuates: a conjecture, says the credulous Whitaker, utterly incredible. In the first fragments of Fingal, the tree of the rustling leaf²⁵ was the trembling poplar, *cran na crith* or *crithian*, a literal translation of the Saxon aspin: but the translator discovered that the poplar was introduced by the Romans; and suppressed the name. The yew tree; *Jubbar*, from the Saxon and German derivation of the name, and from the care to plant and preserve it in church-yards, was certainly not indigenous; yet it occurs repeatedly as a forest tree. In the history of Ireland, the silence with respect to the existence or destruction of the moose deer, whose large horns are found in its bogs, is a sufficient refutation of its Milesian antiquity, and pretensions to letters before the christian era; and in the poetical annals of a tribe of hunters, the omission of the wild cattle, the wolves and boars of the Caledonian forest, reflects the same discredit on the authenticity of Ossian²⁶. The method of dressing venison in pits lined with hot stones and covered with heath, the only appropriate custom of the age, is tran-

²⁵ From Thomson's Spring: l. 155.

"When not a breath

"Or rustling turn the many twinkling leaves

"Of aspin tall."

²⁶ The destruction of the moose deer in Ireland is ascribed by some to a murrain incident to the Elk in Lapland. Wright's Louthiana, part iii. p. 20. Ledwich's Antiq. 127. Wolves were common in the highlands till the last century. The boar occurs in the Lives of Columba. The British and Caledonian bears are mentioned by Plutarch, Martial, and Claudian; and the wild cattle are still preserved in parks. But Macpherson appropriates the wild boar to Scandinavia, and tame cattle to Ireland, i. 258.

scribed from Keating's account of the Fions, the militia of Ireland, who lived at free quarters in winter, and subsisting by hunting or fishing in summer, a minute description is given of the mode of preparing their game²⁷. In Homer, we attend the heroes at their altars, and the repasts which they prepare themselves. We attend Penelope to the loom, and enter so completely into the whole economy of their military and domestic life, that it requires some criticism to discover that Homer lived at a more improved period than the age he describes. As Virgil flourished at a later period, the remote characters and scenes are less distinctly portrayed. From the genuine Ossian, a contemporary distinguished among the heroes whom he celebrates, we should obtain, if not an accurate delineation of their characters, some insight at least into the domestic manners, arts, and occupations of the early Caledonians; some account of their dress, diversions, houses, beverage, and religious rites. But from Ossian's reputed father, nothing more was to be expected, in the eighteenth century, than from his model Fenelon's description of the Greeks. The customs of every subsequent age were unavoidably appropriated to the earliest, of which he was ignorant. In the Orkneys and Western Isles he discovered the Norwegian temples or circles of Thor and Woden, but forgot the worship and human sacrifices to which they were appropriated. From an Irish ballad of the sixteenth century, he transcribes the offer of an hundred hawks, an hundred handmaids, an hundred sanctified girdles, an apple, or arrow of gold, as tribute from hunters equally ignorant of hawking, female servitude, popish saints, and the precious metals²⁸. But the ideal manners of romance, the insipid outlines of perfect, sentimental heroes, prevail throughout. The very shields resound, when struck, like

²⁷ Keating's Hist. of Ireland, 269.

²⁸ Ossian, i. 398. Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, i. 88. Martin's Western Isles, p. 9.

an Indian gong; an absurd imitation of the brazen basin or targe suspended, to be struck by the challenger, at the bridge or portals of the castles of Romance.

V. 1. The origin of the poems may be distinctly traced. On awaking from a long lethargy that succeeded the union, the Scots, with their national ardour, sprung forward towards industry and commerce, and began to vie with the English in every literary pursuit. In philosophy and history Hume and Robertson had acquired an unrivalled excellence. The laurels of Thomson were recent. Home, whose Douglas was overvalued by his countrymen, had produced a promising specimen of tragedy, from which much was expected; and nothing was wanting under a Scottish minister, the patron of genius, but an epic poet to emulate Milton. We know that Homer and Milton were blind, but a third blind bard, like them the author of two epic poems, must be ascribed to imitation not to chance. Macpherson, in one of his prefaces, informs us himself, "that he has served "his apprenticeship in secret to the muses;" when encouraged by Wilkie's *Epigoniad*, he undertook to give an epic poet to Scotland. The fact is, that Macpherson was the author of three epic, or heroic, poems. The first was the *Highlander*, in six Cantos, published at Edinburgh in 1758, four years before the appearance of *Fingal*²⁹. The discovery of an epic, poem by the translator of *Offian*, is itself the strongest proof that the author, not succeeding in poetry professedly modern, ascribed his subsequent productions to a remote antiquity, to ensure a more

Origin of
the poems.

Macpherson's first
epic.

²⁹ Its authenticity is certain. A copy presented by the author, soon after its publication, to Mr Colin Campbell, now collector of customs at Fort William, was communicated by him to Mr. Alexander Campbell, author of an *Introduction to the History of Scottish Poetry*, (Edinburgh 1798, 4to.) by whose favour it is now in my hands. Mr. Campbell quotes and contrasts it with the opening of *Fingal*, from its inferiority to prove the authenticity of *Offian*. But the world will be apt to pronounce a very different conclusion, on the discovery of an additional epic poem by the father of *Offian*.

favourable

favourable reception, and attract the public attention to their merit. But the argument becomes invincible, if it shall appear that the same plot and inflated phraseology, the same imagery and incidents are repeated and preserved in the poems of Ossian.

The Highlander,

2. When the Highlander is examined, its plot exhibits the very outlines of Fingal. Swein, king of Norway, invading Scotland with a large fleet and a numerous army, is opposed by Indulph, its seventy-fifth king. Alpin, a young chieftain from Lochaber, joins the Scottish army; explores the Norwegian camp by night; engages in single combat, and exchanges shields with Haco; and the battle is decided next day by his prowess and address; the Norwegian fleet is burnt, and the invading army destroyed. Haco, overpowered with his band, on retreating to a wood, is generously permitted to depart by Alpin, whom Indulph discovers to be his nephew, the son of Malcolm I. preserved in his infancy from his father's murderers; and on his marriage with Culena, the king's daughter, *Duffus*, by the accidental death of his uncle, succeeds to the throne. It is obvious that Swein is converted into Swaran in Fingal; with this difference only in the plot, that the scene of invasion is transferred from Scotland to Ireland, and the time from the tenth to the third century.

Transcribed in Fingal.

3. That the Highlander is inferior to Fingal affords no presumption whatever that the latter is authentic. The author was then twenty-one; his native language was Earse; his taste was not yet formed; he had not attended Dr. Blair's lectures, nor acquired the graces or a sufficient command of the English language. But the poem discovers much of the same imagery and incidents with Fingal; green meteors, mountains, maids in armour, storms and ghosts. The same ambitious phraseology, straining after the sublime, which is so apt to degenerate into bombast in Ossian, becomes quite ludicrous in the

Highlander,

Highlander, from the untutored taste of the author. Such expressions as these, which repeatedly recur : " he " fixed his rainy eyes on ground ; fierce Denmark belches " numbers on our land ; the gleaming journey of the " sword, talks on its way ; steel speaks on steel, and cuts " its brazen journey through the aim ; across the silver " errors of the Tay ; groans, speak on the pinions of the " southern gale ; the kindling virgin flames along the " tale ; and send the palace flaming to the skies ;" however ridiculous, are derived from the same source with Ossian's style ; a close imitation of Gray's alliteration and Mason's bombast. But the following similes, to be recognized as Ossian's, require only to be translated into heroic prose.

" Thus on a night when rattling tempests war,
" Thro' broken clouds appears a blazing star ;
" Now veils its head, now rushes on the fight,
" And shoots a livid horror thro' the night."

" The wind comes down on the woods ; the torrents
" rush from the rocks ; rain gathers round the head of
" Cromla ; the red stars tremble between the flying
" clouds." Ossian, i. 255.

" Athwart the gloom the streaming meteor sails—
" Kindles a livid circle as it flies."

" The clouds divided fly over the sky, and shew the
" burning stars. The meteor, token of death, flies
" sparkling through the gloom ; it rests on the hill." Id.
134. Edit. 1773.

" The Scots a stream, would sweep the Danes away,
" The Danes a rock, repel the Scots array"—
" The ranks of Sweno stand in firm array,
" As hoary rocks repel the raging sea."

DISSERTATION ON

" As roll a thousand waves to a rock, so Swaran's
 " host came on. As meets a rock a thousand waves, so
 " Erin met Swaran of spears.—" Frothal came forth with
 " the stream of his people. But they met a rock. Fin-
 " gal stood unmoved. Broken they rolled back from his
 " side." Id. 65. 235.

" On either side they stretched the manly line,
 " With darting gleam the steel clad ridges shine ;
 " On either side the gloomy lines incede,
 " Foot rose with foot, and head advanced with head—
 " Thus when *two winds* descend upon the main,
 " To fight their battles on the watry plain ;
 " In two black lines the equal waters crowd,
 " On either side the white-top'd ridges nod,
 " At length they break and raise a bubbling sound,
 " While echo rumbles from the rocks around."

" Behold the battle of the chiefs ! It is the storm of
 " ocean when *two spirits* meet far distant, and contend for
 " the rolling of the waves. The hunter ³⁰ hears the noise
 " from his hill ; he sees the high billows advancing to
 " Ardven's shore." Ossian, i. 302. " The kings were
 " like two spirits of heaven, standing each on his gloomy
 " cloud ; when they pour abroad the winds, and lift the
 " roaring seas. The blue tumbling of waves is before
 " them, marked with the paths of whales." ii. 63. " As
 " meet two troubled seas with the rolling of all their
 " waves, when they feel the wings of contending winds,
 " on the rock sided frith of Lumon ; along the echoing
 " hills is the dim course of ghosts ; from the blast fall the
 " torn groves on the deep, amidst the foamy path of
 " whales". So mixed the hosts." Id, 167.

" Prone

³⁰ From Homer's Shepherd, to be quoted in the sequel.

³¹ To gratify the reader, the following passages are selected, in which the phraseology and imagery of Ossian are equally discernible.

" Three

" Prone on the strand, extended every way,
 " Clad o'er with steel, a shining trunk he lay ;
 " Thus on its lofty seat should winds invade,
 " The statue keeps the memory of the dead ;

" It

" Thro' their tall spears the singing tempest raves,
 " And falling headlong on the spumy waves,
 " Pursues the ridgy sea with awful roar,
 " And throws the liquid mountains on the shore ;
 " In each short pause, before the billow breaks,
 " Th' exalting Caledonian armour speaks."

" The sprightly morn with early blushes spread,
 " Rears o'er the eastern hill her rosy head,
 " The storm subsides, the breezes as they pass,
 " Sig on their way along the pearly grass."

" In humid rest her bending eyelids close ;
 " With slow returns her bosom fell and rose ;
 " At length returning life her bosom warms,
 " Glows in her cheek, and lights up all her charms ;
 " Thus when invading clouds the moon assail,
 " The landscape fails, and fades the shining vale ;
 " But soon as Cynthia rushes on the sight,
 " Reviving fields are silvered o'er with light."

" Thus on expanded plains of heavenly blue,
 " Thick gathered clouds the queen of night pursue ;
 " And as they crowd behind their sable lines,
 " The virgin light with double lustre shines."

" Two oaks from earth, by headlong tempests torn,
 " Supply the fire, and in the circle burn."

" Thus on the heathy wild, the hunted deer
 " Start at each blast, together crowd with fear,
 " Tremble and look about, before, behind,
 " Then stretch along, and leave the mountain wind."

" At the approaching noise, the starting deer
 " Crowd on the heath, and stretch away in fear—
 " Each from the herd selects a flying hart."

" Now in the blushing east the morn arose,
 " Its lofty head, in grey, the palace shews."

DISSERTATION ON

"It quakes at every blast, and nods around,
 "Then falls a shapeless ruin on the ground."

"Like a young oak falls Turlathon with all his branches
 "round him," ii. 63. "Cairbar lay like a shattered rock,
 "which

"On the blue heavens arose a night of clouds,
 "The radiant lord of day his glory shrouds,
 "The rushing whirlwind speaks with growling breath,
 "Roars through the hill, and scours along the heath, &c."

"The mid-day sun pours down his sultry flame,
 "And the wet bath waves, glistening in the beam,
 "Tall ships advance afar; their canvas sails
 "In their *swells* before gather all the gales."

"Thus spungy clouds on heaven's blue vault arise,
 "And float before the wind, along the skies;
 "Their wings opposed to the illustrious sun,
 "Shine as they move majestically on."

"Your fires oft brought the *Roman eagle* down,
 "When Romans thundered on our Albion's shore."

"While thus the king and noble chiefs rejoice,
 "Harmonious bards exalt the tuneful voice;
 "A select band, by Indulph's bounty fed,
 "To keep in song the memory of the dead,
 "They handed down the ancient rounds of time,
 "In *oral story*, or *recorded rhyme*;
 "Thus in the stream, the bards impetuous roll,
 "And quaff the generous *spirit of the bowl*."

"Behind the dead the mournful bards appear,
 "And mingle with their elegies the tear,
 "A mournful train of tear distilling maids."

"The ponderous spear supports his dusky way,
 "The waving steel reflects the stellar ray.—
 "Thus when strong winds the aged tower invade
 "And throw the shapeless ruin from its head."

The reader versant in Ossian will easily recognize these passages. Macpherson was unequal to rhyme, and in the measured prose suggested by Louth's *Predictions*, (*De Gesta Poeti Hibernorum*, p. 30.) was relieved

even

"which Cromla shakes from its shaggy sides, when the
"green vallied Erin shakes its mountains from sea to sea."
Id. 15. "As the stone of Loda falls, shook at once from
"rocking Drumanard, when spirits heave the earth in
"their wrath, so fell blue shielded Rothmar." Id. 104.

"But still fierce Denmark made a broken stand;
"Here stands a squadron, there a gloomy band,
"Rears a firm column on the rocky shore,
"Makes the last effort of a dying power;
"Thus after fire thro' lanes its way has took,
"A prostrate village lies o'erwhelmed in smoke,
"But here and there, some sable turrets stand,
"And look a dismal ruin o'er the land."

"Behold how Lochlin divides on Lena! They stand
"like broken clouds on a hill, or an half consumed grove
"of oaks; when we see the sky through its branches, and
"the meteor passing behind," i. 294.

"Awful the chief advanced, his armour bright
"Reflects the fires, and gleams along the night;
"Hovering he stood, above the sleeping band,
"And shone an awful column o'er the strand;
"Thus often to the midnight traveller
"The stalking figures of the dead appear;
"Silent the spectre towers before the sight,
"And shines an awful image through the night;
"At length the giant phantom hovers o'er
"Some grave unhallowed, stained with human gore—
"Before my eyes a ghastly phantom stood,
"A mangled man, his bosom stained with blood;
"Silent and sad the phantom stood confest,
"And threw the streaming flood-gates of his breast."

even from the constraint of verse. His heroes in the Highlander are Dumbat, Graham, Somerled, Scottish chieftains! whom, as his 4th Essay was suggested by their descendants, he abandoned afterwards for the Celts.

These, and other images, transcribed and improved in Ossian, are marked with a strong poetical, but uncultivated genius, such as Macpherson always possessed; for with much imagination, an occasional sublimity, and sometimes an exquisite pathos, he never acquired a correct or refined taste. The same incidents are also repeated. The nocturnal combat and exchange of friendship with Haco, recurs in Swaran's rencounter with Fingal in the Cathloda, and in Ossian's interview with Cathmor in Temora. A soldier returning wounded from the field, expires in the Highlander before his tale is told. Calmar returns mortally wounded in Fingal, to warn Cuthullin of Lochlin's approach. Alpin and Oscar solicit an enterprise, in the same terms, as unknown to fame. "Oscar is like the mist of Cona: I appear and I vanish away." i. 196.

"But I gleam once, then sink and am no more."

The flame of the oak, the bosses of the shields, the second fight, and even the pursuit of the deer on the heath, occur in the Highlander. White bosomed sails and maids, the Roman eagle, ("spreads he the wings of his pride;" Ossian,) and the bards themselves are introduced, to quaff the generous spirit of the bowl, the strength of the shells, and to preserve the memory of the dead, in oral story or recorded rhyme. And the fair Aurelia, like Sulmalla and "the eternal ladies in mail," attending on Haco in the disguise of a young warrior,

"Wields in her snowy hand the aspin spear;

"The silver mail hung round her snowy waist;

"The corslet rises on her heaving breast."

Fragments.

4. As the Highlander fell still-born from the press, the author transferred his pen from poetry, professedly original, to the more profitable task of translation from the Earse. The Fragments of ancient Gaelic Poetry were

were first circulated in manuscript, and published at Edinburgh in 1760, two years after the Highlander *disappeared*, when the author's taste and style were considerably improved. The public were prepared for Earle poetry, by some fantastic tales of Jerom Stone's, in the Scots magazine; but the Fragments coincided happily with the sentimental vein, which Young's Night Thoughts, Gray's inimitable Elegy, Shenstone's Pastorals, and Sterne had introduced. Men of more taste than classical or historical knowledge, believed them authentic; the novelty of measured prose pleased, and persuaded the public that the *translator* had no ambition to become a poet. The Fragments contained the opening, and some episodes of Fingal, with an intimation that the whole might be recovered if encouragement were given; and from the prospect of obtaining a national Epopee, a subscription was raised, and the author dispatched to the highlands, in quest of epic poems. His situation then was obscure, and indigent. Originally a schoolmaster in Badenoch, afterwards a domestic tutor, he was then a student of divinity, employed as corrector of the press by Balfour the bookseller; but the subscription imposed an obligation to persist in the original deceit. The similar imposture and success of Hardiknute, which had furnished the fable of his Highlander, might encourage him to proceed. But I believe that Fingal was already sketched out, from the Irish ballads and traditions of his battles with Magnus and others, which promised to supply Macpherson with heroes, incidents, and a few occasional episodes. The Temora had not then occurred, as appears from a ridiculous Fragment on the death of Oscar³².

Fingal.

Two

³² Dermid and Oscar fight a duel for Dargos's daughter. Oscar, grieved at his friend Dermid's death, persuades his mistress to shoot an arrow at the shield of Gormal, (converted in Ossian into a mountain in Sweden,) behind which he conceals himself so dexterously as to receive a mortal wound; and his mistress "pierces her white bosom with steel." No Greek poet durst have deviated from the death which Homer assigns to Achilles,

Temora.

Two years after his retreat to the highlands, the poems of Ossian were prepared for the press. A large subscription was raised, under the patronage of lord Bute, and the epic poem of Fingal was published at London, in 1762, with the lesser poems and the first book of the Temora, suggested by the fabulous palace of Teamor in Keating, and the Irish ballad containing the real history of Oscar's death. The Temora was afterwards translated or extended to eight books, at lord Bute's desire, and published with additional poems, without a second expedition to the highlands; but Moilena, in King's county, and the palace of Temora, at Tara in Meath, were transferred to Ulster, by another fatal mistake, like

Achilles, Patroclus, or Hector. But Macpherson informs us in a Note to the first book of Temora, published with Fingal, that a more correct copy of the Fragment coming into his hand, enabled him to rectify the mistake. In this new edition of the Fragment, Oscar is converted into the son of Caruth who bore the same character and name with Ossian's son. Fingal, 1st edit. p. 190. Thus all is falsehood together. In the next Fragment, Gaul, the son of Morni, is an enemy who encounters Fingal; and after a wrestling match, wherein "their bones crack like the beat of ocean, when she leaps from wave to wave, and the earth is ploughed with their heels; the aged overcame, and the tall son of Morni is bound." Frag. 39. The wrestling match is transferred to Fingal, with which it was impossible to incorporate the Fragment as an episode. The sixth, converted in Fingal into the maid of Craca, is the only fragment for which there is the least authority: but how different from the original, the maid's tragedy, or the combat of Oscar and Hlan, the king of Spain's son who slew one third of the Fiont in Ireland. Transl. Royal Irish Academy, i. 76. Though his taste was improved in the Fragments, Macpherson still retained the extravagance of the Highlander. In the last mentioned Fragment; "there was the clashing of swords, there the voice of steel. They struck and they thrust; they digged for death with their swords; but death was distant far and delayed to come. The sun began to decline, and the cowherd thought of home; then Oscar's keen steel found the heart of Ullin." The ninth Fragment of Ronan and Rivine supplied Home with a tragedy, the Fatal Daughter, or Marriage, I forget its name. But the strongest mark of his improved taste is the omission of the following passage, of a warrior running up hill, (the most bombast I ever read,) in the last Fragment, when inserted as an episode in Fingal. "Lamderg rushed on like a storm; on his spear he leapt over rivers; few were his strides up the hill; the rocks fly back from his heels, loud crashing they bound to the plain." Frag. p. 70. He lived, but durst not write in verse, when his taste was matured.

Carrick.

Carrick-Thura and Balclutha, which destroys the authenticity of the whole poem³³.

VI. 1. Another copious and curious source of detection is the constant imitation of the classics, scriptures, and such temporary publications as were then in vogue. To obviate the imitations of scripture, the venerable Dr. Blair would persuade the public, that oriental poetry might be termed, with the same propriety, occidental, as it is characteristical rather of an age than of a country, and in some measure belongs to all nations in a rude and early state. Perhaps it is sufficient to observe, that although the modern poets, whose inspiration is imbibed at the same source, must resemble, and may appear to imitate each other, yet no such similarity subsists between Solomon and Theocritus, the Psalmist and Pindar, Isaiah and Homer; much less between them and the northern Scalds. Between the earlier classics and the scriptures there is no resemblance, much less an apparent imitation: but the author, desirous to appropriate Ossian to a remote antiquity, would imitate both. Instead of a few paragraphs, the subject would require a separate dissertation; but the less obvious imitations to which the reader may refer, are ostentatiously marked in the first edition as parallel passages, in which Ossian has happily equalled or excelled the originals³⁴.

2. Cathloda, the first poem in the present arrangement, was published among the last, as a studious imitation of Scandinavian manners. Sterne and Swaran invoke

Imitations

Of the Classics.

33 Archdale's *Monasticon Hibern.* 389. Keating, 135, 217. O'Flaherty *Collect. Hibern.* iii. 512. Dedication of Temora to lord Bute. Macpherson mistook Temora in Leinster, for Emania, the fabulous palace of the kings of Ulster.

34 The parallel passages quoted with such exultation on any minute improvement of imagery, or refinement in diction, can be explained only by the well known story of Jervas the painter. Having succeeded happily in copying, he thought in surpassing, a picture of Titian, he looked first at the one, then at the other, and then, with parental complacency, cried poor little Tit! how he would stare! *Oxford's Anecd. of Painting.*

the

the hawks of heaven to feast on their enemies ; a new image, unknown amidst Swaran's exploits in Fingal, till suggested by Regner Lodbrok's death-song, quoted and communicated, I presume, by Dr. Blair to the author. But it appears from the following descriptions in Fingal, in the preface, and in the Cathloda, that Ossian was equally versed in Milton and Tibullus, to which Grainger's recent translation had attracted the Celtic bard. "She came in all her beauty, like the moon from the cloud of the East. Loveliness was around her as light. Her steps were the music of songs," i. 260. "Awe moved around her stately steps ; like two stars were her radiant eyes ; like two stars that rise on the deep, when dark tumult embroils the night."—"If on the heath she moved, her breast was whiter than the down of Cana ; if on the sea-beat shore, than the foam of the rolling ocean. Her eyes were two stars of light ; her face was heaven's bow in showers ; her dark hair flowed round it like streaming clouds. Thou wert the dweller of souls, white-handed Strinadona." i. 24.

"Grace was in all her steps, heaven in her eye,
"In every gesture dignity and love."

"*Illius ex oculis, quum vult exurere Divos,*
" *Accendit geminas lampadas acer amor.*
" *Illam quidquid agit, quoquo vestigia movet,*
" *Componit furtim subsequiturque decor.*
" *Seu solvit crines, fusis decet esse capillis :*
" *Seu compsit, comitis est veneranda comis,*
" *Urit, seu Tyria voluit procedere palla,*
" *Urit, seu nivea candida veste venit.*
" *Talis in æterno felix Vertumnus Olympo,*
" *Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet."*

TIB. l. 4. 2.

The four first lines of Tibullus were certainly in Milton's contemplation at the time. But his paraphrase, "grace
" was

" was in all her steps, in all her gestures dignity and love," is more literally transcribed by Macpherson in, loveliness was around her as light, her steps were the music of songs. The next passage, " if on the heath she moved, her breast " was whiter than the down of Cana ; if on the sea-beat " shore, than the foam of the rolling ocean," exhibits the peculiar construction of Tibullus. *Seu solvit crines, fufis decet esse capillis ; seu compfit, comitis est veneranda comis ; urit seu Tyria, urit seu nivea.* The remaining images are also preserved. " Her eyes were two stars of light—" like two stars were her radiant eyes ;" *illius ex oculis quum vult exurere divos* : " heaven in her eye ;" *accendit geminas lampadas acer amor.* " Her dark hair flowed round " it like streaming clouds ;" *fufis decet esse capillis* ; and the imitation is concealed only by the adulteration of Tibullus and Milton, debased and reduced to poetic prose. " Stridona, dweller of souls," is equally unintelligible with the following bombast in the same poem : " Whence is " the stream of years ; whither do they roll ; where have " they hid in mist their many coloured sides." i. 29. borrowed, however, from a sublime passage in Blair's Grave.

" Son of the morning, whither art thou fled,
" Where hast thou hid thy many spangled head."

3. The fragments, published while the author studied divinity, are more deeply tinged with his professional pursuits. That nothing might be lost they are awkwardly strung together in Carrick-Thura, or inserted as episodes in the *epic pastoral Fingal*. The scripture style is preserved in Fingal, to whom the queen of Sheba's address to Solomon is applied³⁵ ; but Comala, and the episodes in

Scriptura.

³⁵ Happy are thy people O Fingal ; thou art the first in their danger, the wisest in the days of their peace, &c. i. 302. Happy are thy men, and happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee and hear thy wisdom. 2 Chron. 9. 7.

DISSERTATION ON

Carrick-Thura, are little else than an ambitious imitation of the song of Solomon; an adaptation of its images and peculiar phraseology, to the scenery and pastoral state of the highlands. The style and images of scripture are easily discerned in the following passages, "Who
 "fell on Carun's founding banks? Was he white as
 "the snow of Arden? blooming as the bow of the
 "shower? Was his hair as the mist of the hill? soft
 "and curling on the day of the sun? Was he like the
 "thunder of heaven in battle? fleet as the roe of the de-
 "fert?" i. 42. "Who is this," says Solomon, "that
 "cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke;
 "leaping upon the mountains like a roe, or a young
 "hart; terrible as an army with banners; my beloved
 "is white and ruddy, the chiefest among men. Thy
 "hair is as a flock of goats that appear from Gilead."
 Canticles passim. "Look from thy rock, my love, let
 "me hear the voice of Comala; come to the cave of my
 "rest, the storm is past, the sun is on our fields; come
 "to the cave of my rest, huntress of echoing Arden."—
 "O my dove," says Solomon, "thou that art in the clefts
 "of the rock; let me see thy countenance, let me hear
 "thy voice. Lo the winter is past; the rain is over and
 "gone; arise my love, my fair one, and come away!"
 The last imitation is suggested, as less obvious, by the
 translator himself. But Comala exclaims, with Gray's
 bard, "confusion pursue thee over thy plains; ruin ever
 "take thee thou king of the world." Id. 43.

"Ruin seize thee, ruthless king,
 "Confusion on thy banners wait."

In the episode of Shilrick and Vinvela, "Dost thou
 "rest by the fount of the rock, or by the noise of the
 "mossy stream?—Didst thou but appear, O my love, a
 "wanderer on the heath, thy hair floating on the wind
 "behind

"behind thee ; thy bosom heaving on the sight ; thine
 "eyes full of tears for thy friends, whom the mist of the
 "hills has concealed ? Thee I would comfort, my love,
 "and bring to thy father's house. But is that she that
 "appears like a beam of light in the heath, bright as the
 "moon in autumn, as the sun in a summer storm.
 "Comest thou, O maid ! over rocks, over mountains to
 "me." i. 55—8. In the Canticles, "Tell me, O thou
 "whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou
 "makest thy flocks to rest at noon ?—I would lead thee
 "and bring thee to thy mother's house."—"Who is she that
 "looketh forth in the morning, fair as the moon, clear
 "as the sun, terrible as an army with banners ?"

"Over hill, over dale, over high mountains." Old Ballad.

In the Fragment of Duchomar and Morna, inserted in
 Fingal : "Comest thou like a roe from Malmor, like a hart
 "from thy echoing hills."—"Be thou," in Solomon's song,
 "like a roe or a young hart on the mountains of Bether."
 —"Morna, fairest of women, thou art snow on the heath ;
 "thy hair is the mist of Cromla, when it curls on the hill ;
 "thy breasts are two smooth rocks seen from Branno of
 "streams. Thy arms like two great pillars in the halls
 "of the great Fingal." i. 226, 7. In the Canticles,
 "Whither is thy beloved gone, O thou fairest among
 "women ; thy breasts are like two young roes that are
 "twins ; thy neck is as a tower of ivory ; thine head
 "upon thee is as Carmel, and the hair of thy head like
 "purple :—his legs are as pillars of marble, set in sockets
 "of pure gold." These imitations require no comment ;
 the same phraseology is adopted, and the same images are
 appropriated, almost without alteration, to the Celtic bard.

4. Such classical beauties as might have occurred
 fortuitously, in the course of a poem, to the genuine
 Ossian, would have been interwoven with the narrative
 from which they arose. But Macpherson, in his imitation

In Carrick-
 Thura, and
 Carthon.

of

of the ancients, had prepared such detached episodes, and splendid addresses to the sun in Carthage, to the moon in Dardania, the dream and death of Malvina, &c. as had no connexion with the poems to which they were afterwards attached. Ostentatious addresses or odes to the sun, moon, and evening star, are alone a detection of modern poetry to which they are peculiar; but in these passages, the scriptural style of his early studies is uniformly preserved. The chiefs are pillars of fire or darkness; her heart is the house of pride, from the house of glory, joy, mourning, and the house of the proud; the dark and narrow house, from the grave, the house appointed for all living; and the same idiom is employed in Fingal's encounter with the spirit of Loda, though an obvious imitation of Diomed's combats with Venus and Mars. "A blast came from the desert. On its wings was the spirit of Loda.—I look upon the nations and they vanish. My nostrils pour the blast of death; the blast is in the hollow of my hand." i. 60. "He rode upon a cherub and did fly, yea he did fly on the wings of the wind." Psalm xviii. 10. "By the blast of God they perish, by the breath of his nostrils are they consumed." Job, iv. 9. "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand?" Isaiah, lx. 12. But in Carthage, a story taken from Keating's account, and from an Irish ballad of Cuthullin, who kills his son Conloch in single combat³⁶, the imitations sometimes improve on the original. The comparison of Clellammor to "a seed in his strength" who finds his companions in the breeze, "and tosses his bright main in the wind," i. 79. is a literal and wretched transcript from Pope, of the same simile in Homer and Virgil.

"His head now freed, he tosses to the skies,
 "His mane dishevelled o'er his shoulder flies,
 "He snuffs the females on the distant plain,

³⁶ Keating, 196. Miss Brooke's Reliques of Irish Poetry, 9.

"And springs exulting to his fields again."

"He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength." JOB, xxxix. 21.

———"Arrectisque fremit cervicibus alte
Luxurians, luduntque jubæ per colla per armos.

VIRGIL.

But the description of Moina's ghost, suggested confessedly by Virgil's Dido, is unexpectedly improved.

———"Agnovitque per umbram,
"Obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense,
"Aut vidit, aut vidisse putat, per nubila lunam."

"She was like the new moon seen through the gathered mist, when the sky pours down its flaky snow and the world is silent and dark." Fingal's description of the fallen Balclutha is truly poetical. "I have seen the walls of Balclutha, but they were desolate. The stream of Clutha was removed from its place by the fall of the walls. The thistle shook there its lonely head; the moss whistled to the winds. The fox looked out from the windows; the rank grass of the walls waved around its head." i. 82. Here, however, we discover the imitations of scattered passages happily improved. "The thorn and the thistle shall come up on their altars." Hosea, x. 18. "Because of the mountain of Zion, which is desolate; the foxes walk on it." Lam. v. 18. "The cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows." Zeph. ii. 14. But when he proceeds, "why dost thou build thy hall, thou son of the winged days; thou lookest from thy towers to day, to-morrow the blast of the desert comes;" the morality of the divine, afraid to allude directly to a future state, is imperfectly concealed; and Fingal is recalled, from the sublime reflections of Job on our present short existence,

to

to a convivial sentiment of absurd bombast; to rejoice in the shell, that when the blast of the desert should come, his fame would survive the sun. To me it appears that here, and in the address to the sun, the author has inserted some favourite ideas from his college exercises at the Divinity hall. The beginning is derived from Satan's address to the sun in Milton. "O thou that rollest above, round as the shield of my fathers, whence are thy beams O sun! thy everlasting light. Thou comest forth in thy awful beauty! the *stars hide themselves* in the sky; the moon, cold and pale, sinks in the western wave; but thou thyself movest *alone*, who can be the companion of thy course!"

"O thou that with surpassing lustre crowned,
 "Look'ft from thy *sole* dominion like the God
 "Of this new world; at whose sight all the stars
 "Hide their diminished heads; to thee I call,
 "But with no friendly voice, and add thy name
 "O sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams;"

"—Two broad suns, their shields
 "Blazed opposite." MILT.

"The moon which rose last night, round as my shield."

DOUGLAS.

The broad sun compared inversely to a round shield; the stars that hide themselves (their diminished heads) at his approach; in his awful beauty moving alone, or with surpassing lustre crowned in sole dominion; his everlasting light, like the God of this new world; are obvious imitations, which it is impossible to mistake. "Whence are thy beams, O sun! thy everlasting light," though a natural transition of the divine to its eternal source, is preposterous in Ossian, who, believing its light everlasting, could have no conception of its creation, nor a suspicion from whence it proceeded. "The oaks of the mountains fall; the mountains themselves decay with years," is a philosophical or scriptural allusion,

as remote from Ossian's sphere of observation, as the earthquakes that "shake green Erin from side to side." "The ocean shrinks and grows again; *the moon herself is lost in heaven*; but thou art for ever the same; *rejoicing in the strength* of thy course. But to Ossian thou *lookest in vain*, for he *beholds thy beams no more*."

"But thou

"Revisit'st not these eyes that roll in vain

"To find thy piercing ray."

PAR. LOST.

"The sun to me is dark,

"And silent as the moon

"When she deserts the night,

"Hid in her vacant interlunar cave."

SAMSON AGONISTES.

"He rejoiceth in his strength."

JOB.

Not-satisfied with creating a third blind epic bard, like Homer and Milton, the translator has appropriated the same passages to Ossian; he is placed, like Samson, where the sun delights to shine; and Malvina, like Milton's Urania, visits his slumber nightly with her song. In the concluding paragraph, the divine recurs. "But thou art perhaps like me, for a season; thy years will have an end; thou shalt sleep in thy clouds, regardless of the voice of the morning;" a favourite idea repeated in the same poem, and again in the Temora, is derived from Young's Night Thoughts;

"Death, great proprietor of all! 'tis thine

"To tread out empire, and to quench the stars:

"The sun himself by thy permission shines,

"And one day thou shalt pluck him from his sphere;"

as the address to the moon in Darthula, "Whither dost thou retire when the darkness of thy countenance

"grows? Hast thou thy *hall* like Ossian? Dwellest thou in the *shadow of grief*?" is suggested by Milton's *vacant, interlunar cave*, and the same paragraph in the Night Thoughts;

"O Cynthia, why so pale! dost thou lament
"Thy wretched neighbour?"

An intimation that the sun is only for a season, and may be extinguished like the life of man, must suggest its author, if not a future state, to the most untutored mind. But as that would encroach on the province of the Druids, or in other words, betray a dangerous glimpse of the divine, the sun is desired to "exult in the strength of his youth, for age is dark and unlovely. It is like the glimmering light of the moon, when it shines through broken clouds, and the mist is on the hills; the blast of the north is on the plain, and the traveller shrinks in the midst of his journey." A professed imitation of Virgil's,

"Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
"Est iter in silvis; ubi cœlum condidit umbra
"Jupiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem."

The lesser poems.

5. Of the lesser poems, Oithona opens with the conclusion of Hardiknute; "There is no sound in the hall, no long streaming beam of light comes trembling through the gloom."

"There's nae light in my ladie's bower,
"There's nae light in my hall, &c."

"With thy long levelled rule of streaming light;"
COMUS.

and contains some egregious imitations, one of which the author scruples not to produce as a parallel passage.
"On

"On the third day arose Tromathon, like a blue shield
"in the midst of the sea." Phæacia's dusky coat ap-
peared to Ulysses indistinct and vast :

"Like a broad shield amid the watry waste."

POPE'S ODYSSEY.

"Why did I not pass away in *secret*, like the flower of
"the rock that lifts its fair head *unseen*, and *scatters* its
"withered leaves on the *blast*;" an imitation at once of
Catullus and Gray.

"Ut flos in septis, *secretis*, nascitur hortis."

"Full many a flower is born to blush *unseen*,

"And *waste* its sweetness on the *desert air*."

In the Five Bards, produced in a note, as a poem a thou-
sand years later than Ossian, "The wind is up; the
"shower descends; the spirit of the mountains shrieks;
"windows flap; the growing river roars; the traveller
"attempts the ford. Hark that shriek! he dies;" i. 133.
a part is taken from Blair's Grave.

"The wind is up, hark how it howls! methinks

"Till now I never heard a sound more dreary:

"Doors creak and windows clap."

A part, omitted in the copy transmitted to Gray³⁷,
was inserted afterwards from the tragedy of Douglas;

"Red came the river down, and loud and oft

"The angry spirit of the waters shriek'd;"

and the concluding incident is borrowed from Thom-
son's Winter, and Akenfide's Ode to the Winter Solstice.
In Calthorpe and Colmal, "the sun appears in the West,

³⁷ Macon's edit. of Gray's Poems and Letters.

DISSERTATION ON

“ after the steps of his brightness have passed behind a
 “ storm ; the green hills lift their dewy heads ; the blue
 “ streams rejoice in the vale. The aged hero comes forth
 “ on his staff ; his grey hair glitters in the beam ;” all but
 the last image confessedly from Milton.

“ If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet,
 “ Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,
 “ The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
 “ Attest their joy, that hill and valley ring.”

Oscar's Soliloquy, when alone in Caros, on the enemy's approach, is written in emulation of Ulysses' soliloquy in the Iliad, when oppressed by numbers ; his voice, “ like
 “ the noise of a cave when the sea of Togormo rolls before
 “ it,” is transcribed from Milton ;

“ As when hollow rocks retain
 “ The sound of blustering winds, which all night long
 “ Had raised the sea ;”

and his ghost, travelling in the light of his steel, i. 195. from Isaiah, “ travelling in the greatness of his
 “ strength,” lxiii. 1. Our youth is compared in Inisthona, to the dream of the hunter, from Job, xx. 8. and the Psalmist, xc. 9. ; and “ ye sons of the chace stand far
 “ distant, nor disturb the dreams of Ossian,” i. 202. from the Song of Solomon, iii. 5. But in Berrathon, the generations of men are at once compared, with Horace, to waves, and with Homer, to the annual succession of leaves. “ The chiefs of other times are departed. The
 “ sons of future days shall pass away. Another race
 “ shall arise. The people are like the waves of ocean ;
 “ like the leaves of woody Morven, they pass away in the
 “ rustling blast, and other leaves lift their green heads.”

Ὡς περ φύλλον γενεῇ, τοιήδε καὶ αἰῶνες.
Φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἀνεμος χαμαὶ χέει, ἀλλὰ δὲ θ' ὕλη
Τηλεθώσα φυεῖ, ἱερὸς δ' ἐπιγγίνεται ὕψη. IL. vi. 146.

"Hæres

"Hæredem alterius, vehut unda supervenit undam ;"
"Ut silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos
"Prima cadunt." HOR.

That the same ideas which Pindar, Sophocles, and Euripides were proud to adopt from Homer, and Pope was content to transcribe from Horace, should occur fortuitously, almost in the same words, and without imitation, to the Celtic bard, is a supposition too gross for the most credulous to believe.

6. To conclude with Fingal,—as the invocation of a muse might betray imitation, the addresses uniformly prefixed to the lesser poems are studiously omitted. Fingal opens abruptly with Cuthullin reclined under Tura's wall, nine centuries before towers or castles were erected in Ireland³⁸. In the transition to Swaran, it is impossible not to recognize Milton's Satan. "I beheld their chief, tall as a rock of ice. His spear is a blasted pine. His shield the rising moon,"

"His ponderous shield—

"Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb

"Thro' optic glass the Tuscan artist views

"At evening."

"His spear, to equal which the tallest pine,

"Hewn on Norwegian hills, &c."

Even Calmar's hyperbolical rants, "Rise, ye dark winds of Erin, rise! roar whirlwinds of Lara of hinds: amidst the tempest let me die, torn in a cloud by angry ghosts

³⁸ O'Connor's Dissert. 81. 2d edit.

DISSERTATION ON

"of men;" seem to me to be derived from the same source.

"While we, perhaps,
 "Caught in a fiery tempest, shall be hurled;
 "Each on his rock transfixed, the sport and prey
 "Of wracking whirlwinds,"

Instead of the horse litter represented by Blair as set with Scotch pebbles, Cuthullin's car is no obscure imitation of Solomon's, and the chariot of the sun. "It bends like a wave near a rock; like the golden mist of the heath. Its sides are embossed with stones, and sparkle like the boat of night. Of polished yew is its beam, and its seat of the smoothest bone; the sides are replenished with spears, and the bottom is the footstool of heroes." In Solomon's chariot, "The bottom thereof is of gold, the covering thereof of purple, the midst thereof being paved with love, for the daughters of Jerusalem." Canticles.

"Aureus axis erat; *temo aureus*, aurea summæ
 "Curvatura rotæ, radiorum argenteus ordo.
 "Per juga Chrysolithi, positæque ex ordine gemmæ,
 "Clara repercussio reddebant lumina Phœbo."

OVID.

Its beam of polished yew is the *temo aureus* of Ovid; its sides studded with sparkling stones, *per juga chrysolithi*; but the bottom paved with love, is judiciously converted into the footstool of heroes; and it bends behind like the golden mist, an allusion which the author has since suppressed. The subsequent battle is transcribed indisputably from Pope's Homer. "Like autumn's dark storms, pouring from two echoing hills, towards each other approached the heroes. Like two deep streams, meeting, mixing, and roaring on the plain; loud, rough, and dark in battle met Lochlin and Innisfail."

"As

" As when the winds ascending by degrees
 " First move the whitening surface of the seas, &c."
 " As torrents roll, encreased by numerous rills,
 " With rage impetuous *down their echoing hills,*
 " Rush to the vales, and *pour along the plain ;*
 " Roar thro' a thousand channels to the main ;
 " The distant shepherd, trembling, hears the sound,
 " So mix both hosts, and so their cries rebound."

" Cuthullin's sword was like the beam of heaven, when
 " it pierces the sons of the vale ; the people are blasted
 " and fall, and all the hills are burning around."

" Less loud the woods, when flames in torrents pour,
 " Catch the dry mountain, and its shades devour."

POPE'S ILLIAD.

" Ac velut immissi diversis partibus ignes

" Arentem in silvam.

VIRGIL.

Cuthullin's encounter with Swaran, is copied from
 Milton's of Satan and Death. " Who are those on
 " Lena's heath, those so gloomy and dark ? who are those
 " like *two clouds*, and their swords *like lightning* above
 " them ? The little hills are troubled around ; the rocks
 " tremble with all their moss. Who is it but ocean's son,
 " and the earborne chief of Erin,"

" Each at the head

" Levelled his deadly aim, and such a frown

" Each cast at th' other, as when *two black clouds*,

" *With heaven's artillery* fraught, come rattling on,

" Over the Caspian.—

" So frowned the mighty combatants, that hell

" Grew darker at their frown."

The apostrophe to the maid of Inistore—" weep on
 " *thy rock* of roaring winds, *O maid of Inistore ! bend thy*
 " *fair*

"*fair head over the waves: he is fallen! thy youth is low, pale beneath the sword of Cuthullin;*" is borrowed from Hardiknute.

"On Norway's coast the widow'd dame,

"May *wash the rocks* with tears,

"May lang *look o'er* the shipless seas,

"Before her mate appears.

"Cease, Emma, cease to hope in vain!

"Thy lord lies *in the clay*"⁴⁰, &c."

The episode of Cairbar and Brassolis contains a singular detection. "Here rests their dust Cuthullin; and these two lonely yews sprung from their tombs, and wish to meet on high." As the conceit was reprobated by Dr. Blair, the obsequious text of Ossian disappeared. "The lonely yews sprung from their tomb to shade them from the storm"⁴¹. The yew was not then a funeral plant, nor appropriated to the grave till introduced into church yards. But if the two lonely yews that sprung from their graves were suggested by Blair's "cheerless unsocial plant," I am afraid that the sentimental conceit was derived from Swift's version of Baucis and Philemon metamorphosed into yews; when the parson cut Baucis down, the other tree

"Grew scrubby, died a-top, was stunted,

"So the next parson stubbed and burnt it."

The next book opens with Crugal's ghost of mist, introduced in imitation of the shade of Patroclus, *νῦν καπνός*, like a thin smoke, but diversified happily by the "stars dim-twinkling through his form." The same image is repeated in Cuthullin; but the author, not

⁴⁰ Even this is borrowed from the older ballad of Sir Patrick Spence, drowned at sea; "O lang, lang may our ladies look, &c."

⁴¹ Blair's *Disc.* 388. *Fingal*, 1st edit. 18. *Ossian's Poems*, 1773. v. i. p. 240.

satisfied with this success, produced afterwards, in a serious history, a poem in Earle and English, to vindicate his ancestors from idolatry; representing Griannius, the genius of the sun, arrested and struggling in the polar regions, with a sudden frost; and the Cruglians, a name derived from Crugal, shrinking into their caves at his horrible outcries⁴². A single image in Fingal is derived from frost. "The heroes stood on the heath, like oaks with all their branches round them, when they echo to the *stream of frost*, and their withered branches are rustling to the wind." But this, and another transplanted from the Highlander, "They stood like a half consumed grove of oaks, when we see the sky through its branches, and the meteor passing behind," are both from Milton:

" Yet faithful how they stood,
" Their glory withered, as when heaven's fire
" Hath scathed the forest oaks, or mountain pines;
" With singed top their stately growth, tho' bare,
" Stands on the blasted heath."

As, " Satan alarmed,
" Collecting all his might, dilated stood,
" Like Teneriff or Atlas unremoved;
" His stature reached the sky, and on his crest
" Sat horror plumed ;"

" Horrendumque intonat armis,
" Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse coruscis
" Cum fremit ilicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
" Vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras."

VIRGIL,

So " Cuthullin stood before him like a hill that catches
the clouds of heaven: the winds contend on its head

⁴² Introduction to the Hist. of Britain, 168.

DISSERTATION ON

" *of pines* : the hail rattles on its rocks. But firm in its
 " strength it stands, and shades the vale of Cona." Per-
 haps the most egregious imitation is that of Milton's sun
 in eclipse. " Connal mounts the car of gems. They
 " stretch their shields like the darkened moon, the daugh-
 " ter of the starry skies, when she moves a dun circle
 " through heaven, and *dreadful change is expected by men.*"

" Or from behind the moon
 " In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
 " On half the nations, and with fear of change
 " Perplexes monarchs."

As if the moon, moving a dun circle through heaven,
 were insufficient to indicate the dim eclipse, the dread-
 ful change expected by men, which was suppressed in
 the first, was restored in the last editions, that no doubt
 of the imitation might remain. The episode of Comal
 and Galvina, who tries her lover in the arms of a man,
 is a gross imitation of the fable of Procris; and Hardik-
 nute is almost literally repeated by Fingal. " Gaul take
 " thy terrible sword. Fergus, bend thy crooked yew.
 " Throw, Fillin, thy lance through heaven,"

" Robin of Rothsay, bend thy bow,
 " Thy arrows shoot fae liel :—
 " Braed Thomas take ye but your lance,
 " Ye need not weapons mair."

And Cuthullin " stands alone like a rock in a sandy
 " vale." " The sea comes with its waves, and roars
 " against its hardened sides; its head is covered with
 " foam; the hills are echoing around," from a noted
 simile in Homer and Virgil.

" Ille, velut pelagi rupes immota, resistit ;
 " Ut pelagi rupes, magno veniente fragore,
 " Quæ sese, multis circum latrantibus undis,

" Mole

"Mole tenet; scopuli nequicquam et spumea circum

"Saxa fremunt, laterique illisa refunditur alga."

ÆNEID.

7. Instead of perpetual imitation, to proceed to the originals, Ossian's courtship of Eivirallin is an episode for which there is some foundation. The original is a ballad of twenty-two stanzas, addressed to a woman with whose proposals the frigid old bard, to use his translator's expression⁴³, was unable to comply. It begins thus: "He is a dog who is not compliant;" and, instead of Ossian's sentimental affectation, discovers little else than the blunt and barbarous manners of the age. "But I tell you, wanton girl! I once was valiant in battle, though now I am worn out with age. When we went to lovely Eivir of the shining hair, the maid of the white hand, the disdainful favourite of Cormac, we went to Loch Lego, twelve men the most valiant beneath the sun. Would you know our determined resolution? it was to make cowards fly before us. Then Bran said, and he did not speak a falsehood, if I had twelve daughters, such is his fame among the Fions, Ossian should have the first⁴⁴." Such are the originals, and should they, in some passages exceed expectation, let it be remembered that the Irish, to which they belong, was a written language, cultivated since the introduction of letters by Saint Patrick. But let us hear the translator. "Daughter of the hand of snow, I was not so mournful and blind, I was not so dark and forlorn, when Eivirallin loved me, Eivirallin of the dark brown hair, the white bosomed love of Cormac, I went in suit of the maid to Lego's fable surge—to Brano of the sounding mail;—though twelve daughters of beauty were mine, thine were the choice, thou son of fame." i. 284. Thus

Original
Ballads.

⁴³ Ossian, ii. 142.

⁴⁴ Trans. of the Royal Irish Academy. i. 52. Collect. of Gaelic Poems by Gillies at Perth, 1786, p. 11.

he proceeds to enumerate Ossian's champions, and their combat with Cormac, in prose sublime; but retains inadvertently, the barbarous conclusion of the original, that the humane Ossian, whose generosity is so superior to Homer's, cuts off and carries his rival's head to Fingal. The original of Fingal itself, is not more extensive. Ossian and St. Patrick the clerk, or the combat of Fingal and Magnus, is a ballad of forty-seven quatrains of short lines, (the second and fourth rhyming together) a few passages of which are transcribed in Fingal. "The seven brave
 " sons of the little lake of Lano, says Gaul without
 " guile, you think them a great multitude, but I will
 " conquer them. Then said Oscar, of mighty strength,
 " give to me the king of Inistore, (isle of wild boars) his
 " twelve nobles have a sweet voice, I will quell them.
 " Earl (Jarla) Mudan's glory is great, says brown Dermid,
 " without malice; I will quell him for thy heroes,
 " or fall in the attempt. I myself took in hand,
 " though I am this night without vigour, king Terman
 " of the close battles, that I should sever his head
 " from his body. Deserve blessings and gain the vic-
 " tory, said Comhall's son of the red cheeks; Magnus
 " Macgharra of multitudes, I will conquer, though
 " great is his fury in battle." " Mine," says Macpher-
 " son, " be the seven chiefs that come from Lano's lake,
 " Let Inistore's dark king said Oscar, come to the sword
 " of Ossian's son, &c. Blest and victorious be my chiefs,
 " said Fingal of the mildest look; Swaran, king of roar-
 " ing waves, thou art the choice of Fingal." i. 294.
 The sun beam or standard set with golden stones, and the combat of the two kings, the son of Comhall of the drinking horns, and Magnus the unfortunate, are described in the original. " Clerk, was not that a dreadful case!

45 Hill's Collect. in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1783. Perth Collect. p. 18. In those poems, Fingal's house at Almhuin or Allen, in Ireland, is converted by Macpherson into Selma and Albion, and St. Patrick, who is termed Macalpin the clerk, into the son of Alpin,

“like the strokes of two hammers, the bloody battle of
 “the two kings, whose countenance was very furious.
 “After their red shields were broken, their countenance
 “being very fierce, they threw their weapons down,
 “and struggled for victory. There were stones and
 “heavy earth opening between their feet.” Like the
 original ballad, Fingal ends in a wrestling match. “Be-
 “hold the battle of the chiefs! There was the clang
 “of arms, there every stroke like the hundred hammers of
 “the furnace.—Their dark brown shields are cleft in
 “twain. Their steel flies, broken, from their hands.
 “They fling their weapons down. Each rushes to his
 “hero’s grasp. But when the pride of their strength
 “arose, they shook the hill with their heels. Rocks
 “tumble from their places on high; the green headed
 “bushes are overturned. At length the strength of
 “Swaran fell. The king of the groves is bound.” i. 302.
 This egregious bombast is concluded with a more classical
 imitation; more extravagant still when applied to the
 combatants. “Thus have I seen in Cona, but Cona I
 “behold no more,” (the ballads contain no intimation
 that Ossian was blind) “thus have I seen two dark hills
 “removed from their place by the strength of the moun-
 “tain stream. They turn from side to side, and their
 “tall oaks meet one another on high. Then they fall
 “together with all their rocks and trees.”

“As if on earth,
 “Winds under ground, or waters forcing way,
 “Side long had pushed a mountain from his seat,
 “Half sunk with all his pines.” MILTON.

The battle of Lora is derived from the tale of Erra-
 gon, a fictitious king of Lochlin⁴⁵; Larthmon from La-
 monmor;

⁴⁵ These and the two epics are almost the only poems of which Dr.
 Blair, whose worth I venerate, received attestations. But the last was so
 strongly

monmor; Darthula from an absurd fable of the three sons of Uisneachan, slain by O'Conachar their maternal uncle, and of Deirdar, who stabbed herself on their bodies with a carpenter's knife; but the names and outlines of the story excepted, not a single sentiment, image, or idea of Macpherson's Ossian is to be found in these ballads. The sole foundation of the Temora is the death of Oscar, a ballad of sixty stanzas, from which that incident, and a few pathetic passages, are inserted in Ossian; "the howling of the dogs; the groans of the aged chiefs; but never more shall Oscar rise; no mother lamented her son, nor one brother for another, but each of us that were present wept for Oscar⁴⁵." Such are the originals, the names, the traditionary fables, and a few passages of which, adopted by Macpherson, have persuaded his credulous countrymen that they

strongly attested as rehearsed by Macvuirick and others, "with very little differences from the printed translation," that he pronounced from its poetical and sentimental beauties, that "whatever genius could have produced Darthula, must be judged fully equal to any performance contained in Macpherson's publication." Diss. Append. Literal translations of the ballads which I have quoted are now in my possession. Among these are two versions of Deirdar, and a third of Uisneachan's or Uisne's Children; but I again repeat, that not a single sentiment or line of Darthula is to be found in either. Cuthullin's chariot, the only other poem attested to Dr. Blair, is in the same predicament, as I am well assured. Such ballads are the only poetical treasures which the Antiquary and Gaelic Societies of Scotland have discovered in the highlands; but unless manufactured anew in the translation, in point of poetical merit, they are utterly contemptible.

⁴⁵ Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, i. 82. 106. Perth Collect. 305—18. Hill's Collect. Another pathetic passage is Fingal's lamentation, "Oscar, my beloved! son of my son! beloved of my beloved! my heart pants over thee like a black-bird; never more shall Oscar rise," transcribed by Macpherson. "The heart of the aged beats over thee. Weep ye heroes of Morven; never more shall Oscar rise." But when he proceeds to Ossian's lamentation, where the ballad fails him, the father is forgotten in the declamatory style of a modern poet, not expressive but descriptive of grief. ii. 17. 18.

had

had heard, and, known the poems in their early youth. It is also observable, that such are almost the only passages produced by those who have chosen gratuitously to attest that the translation was authentic⁴⁷; and instead of an epic poem, had Macpherson proclaimed the discovery of an Earse gospel, I verily believe that he would have obtained the same attestations. But the man who believes that the same images employed in scripture, and the same classical beauties selected, with such curious felicity, by Homer, Catullus, Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, and Milton, not to mention contemporary poets, occurred fortuitously to Ossian, almost in the same words, without imitation, is beyond the reach of argument, and must be abandoned to his faith.

VII. 1. The specimens of the original produced by Macpherson were either written or translated into Earse from the English original, by the translator himself. On this subject it is necessary to premise, that the authenticity of Ossian depends on an historical theory, of which the poems are inversely the sole proof. The ancient Caledonians, whether Scots or Picts, were aboriginal Gaels, who, retiring northward from the Cimbric Celts and the Belgæ, peopled Scotland and Ireland successively; and whose legitimate descendants, the present highlanders, secured by their mountains from an intercourse either with the Saxons or Danes, instead of being a recent Irish colony, have preserved their primitive language and poetry upwards of fifteen centuries, pure and unmixed. It appears, however, from inspecting their vocabulary, that the Earse or Irish is a mixed language⁴⁸, of which a large part is derived from the Saxon

Specimens
of the Earse
original.

⁴⁷ See in the Irish Transactions, p. 46. four fragments of the ballads which we have quoted, interpolated, and dissimulatively produced by a clergyman as specimens of Macpherson's original

⁴⁸ Macfarlan's vocabulary; O'Brien and Shaw's Dictionaries of the Irish and Earse, which I have chiefly consulted.

or Latin, through the medium of the priests. I acknowledge that the Teutonic was partly introduced by the Belgæ, who pursued the Gaelic Celts into Ireland, whom they had expelled from England, and incorporated at length with the people whom they subdued⁴⁹. An admission

⁴⁹ That the Belgæ were Germans is acknowledged by every writer from Marula to Clark (Saxon coins) and Pinkerton, with the exception of such French and Scottish antiquaries as Pezron and his followers, who have transformed the Germans themselves into Celts. Such as still adhere to an opposite opinion, endeavour to explain away the first sentence in Cæsar, *Belgæ, Aquitani, Celtae, bi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus, inter se differunt*, by a commentary on Strabo's ομογλωττους δι' ὅλους ἀλλ' οὐκ οὐκ μικρὰν παραλλαττοντας ταῖς γλώσσαις; "their language is not altogether the same, but somewhat different in dialect." But they forget that Strabo is careful to discriminate the Celts proper, from the Gauls in general; and overlook the positive testimony of Cæsar, in the second book, *plerisque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis; Rhenumque antiquitus transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse; Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse*; c. 4. to which the authority transcribed by Ammianus Marcellinus alludes; *Aborigines Celtas—sed alios quoque ab insulis extimis confluxisse, et tractibus Transrhœnanis*. l. 15. c. 9. Lloyd himself acknowledges that the Belgæ were Germans, and the Irish comparatively a Teutonic language, which has borrowed some words from the Welch, but a greater number from the Latin and French. Preface to the Welch Dict. in his *Archeologia*, translated in Nicolson's Irish Hist. Library, 119. and confirmed by a list of Teutonic words. That Ireland was peopled from Cantire, by Scottish highlanders, rather than from the English coasts of the channel, by the aboriginal Gauls whom the Cimbri and Belgæ expelled from England, is refuted by the small number of highlanders at the present day. The population of the seven counties in which Earle is spoken, Argyle and the Isles, Inverness, Perth, Dumbarton, Ross, Caithness and Sutherland, scarcely amounts to four hundred thousand, of which Perth contains 133,000. Statist. Account, vol. xx. Deducting at least 130,000 for the Lowlands of Dumbarton, Perth, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, the highlanders are not a fifth part of the inhabitants of Scotland; and there is no reason to believe that the proportion was greater at any former period. Major, whose argument for the Irish descent of the Scots is misquoted by Stillington, merely asserts that one half, not of the Scots, but of Scotland, (*medietas Scotiæ*) spoke Irish then; an assertion cautiously limited and strictly true, although the mountainous half and the isles of Scotland hardly contain a fifth part of the whole nation. The strange opinion that Earle was the national and court language in the reign of Malcolm III. rests on a passage in

miffion fo repugnant to the authenticity of Offian, which difelaims the migration or origin of the highlanders from Ireland, can avail the tranflator nothing ; but the Irish it is faid, is the primitive, and was once the univerfal language of

in Turgot’s Life of Margaret, that the king, in a national council, acted as interpreter between the Scottifh priests and the queen. But the Culdees were generally Irish priests, fo diftinguifhed then for their fanctity and learning ; the queen herfelf was a foreigner, born in Hungary, (from which fhe returned ten years before her marriage,) and probably lefs acquainted with the Saxon ; and in the abridgment of Turgot by a writer more attentive to the fact, the difference of languages difappears in a different idiom or dialect, fuch as the Scottifh always was with refpect to the Englifh. *Rex qui quod perfecte Anglorum idioma (linguam, Turgot) æque ut proprium calleret, vigilantiffimus in hoc concilio utriufque partis interpres fuit.* Pinkerton’s *Vitæ Sanctorum*, p. 339—76. The Englifh introduced by a few Saxon exiles and flaves, might affimilate a collateral language to itfelf, but could never extirpate, nor can it now explain the difappearance of Earfe, as a national language, which predominated in the plains of Ireland over the Belgick, and refifted the fubfequent colonies of the Englifh and Scots. The Norwegian was loft in the French language ; and notwithstanding the endeavours of William the conqueror, and his Norman fucceffors, the latter was foon loft in the Saxon. The Welch and Saxons have lived in the fame ifland above a thoufand years. The former have been conquered above five hundred, but the Welch language is ftill preferved. But there was no conqueft nor colonization by the Saxons in Scotland ; and no adequate caufe to fupplant the Gaelick in the fhort interval of 160 years between Malcolm and Alexander III. No intermixture, nor the leaft veftige of an Earfe original is to be found in the Scotch, which was unavoidable had the Saxon been fuperinduced on the Gaelic ; but the fact is that the Scotch was the national language in Malcolm’s reign. No writings of the period are preferved ; but the harbour where the queen’s fhip efcape from the tempeft was named St. Margaret’s Hope ; the place where fhe landed the Queensferry ; whereas it would have been Portree had the language been Earfe. Her fon David Ift’s charter to the Abbey of Dumfermline contains Pettecorthin (Pit-cur), Shiram de Kirkalduit (the fhire of Kirkaldy,) Kinghorn, Smitheon Wymet ; a proof that in 1126 the language was Scotch, from which thefe words were derived. Sir James Dalrymple’s Collections concerning Scottifh History, 1705, p. 383. Two years afterwards he founded the Abbey of *Holy-rood-houfe*, which, whether tranflated from, or into, the Domus Sanctæ Crucis de Crag (from its vicinity to *Salisbury* craigs) demonftrates that the national language was not Earfe. The Abbeys of *Newbottle* and *Dryburgh* were founded by the fame prince ; but none will venture to afert that the Gaelic of Malcolm III. was transformed into Saxon in the reign of his fon. The Celtick names in the lowlands are

of the earth. Each word in the poems, of an obvious and late derivation from the Saxon, Greek, or Latin, will be vindicated as derived by those languages from the Celtick tongue. To contend with Celtick etymologists were an abuse of argument, and a waste of words⁵⁰. They who maintain that the Greek Tyrannus, and the Latin Rex from Rego, were adopted from Tiarna, and Righ a king, may believe that Dux and Comes are derived from Duke and Count. In addition, however, to the general rule, that a term common to different languages, must be derived from the one to which its radical belongs, I shall offer two observations which can admit of no dispute. The first is, that as the Celtick has peculiar names for the objects of nature, while the terms of art, or of abstract ideas are the same with the Latin, we must conclude that the latter, instead of being derived by the Romans from a barbarous people, were adopted by the Welsh and Irish from the refined language of a civilized nation. The second observation is, that terms common to the Celtick and Saxon, must be derived from the Teutonical, if discovered among those northern nations, who had no intercourse with the Gaels, whom they expelled or confined to the west of

derived from the Cimbrick or Strathclyd Welsh; Esk, avon, aber, caer, lan; and when the Picts are once traced to Scandinavia, the affinity between theirs and the Saxon language, from the opposite peninsula of Jutland, must be conceived to be the same as that between the Swedish and German, the Welsh and Earfe; or the Danish and Saxon, which last William the Conqueror, from his knowledge of Norman, a sister language, was enabled to comprehend Dudon apud Duchene's Script. Norm. These facts are mostly suggested by Pinkerton's Dissertation on the Scythians, and Introduction to the History of Scotland, to which his opponents are not a little indebted for whatever information they possess on the subject.

⁵⁰ See, for instance, Vallancy's egregious attempt, by the abridgment, transposition, and alteration of syllables, to convert the Punic scene of Plautus into modern Irish; in which we discover that such words as O all O all-mighty, nimh numen, beannaithe benedictus, umhal humble, frotha streams, ulla teamplui holy temples, caisi cause, pian pain, were genuine Punic words, the language of Ireland, long before it was known to the Romans. Misc. Hibern ii. 310. Such is also the absurd etymology of Beltain, (Bael, Sax, Beol Swed. Beil Scot. rokus, Tende incendere,) from Bel, an Assyrian deity once worshipped in the highlands of Scotland.

Europe.

Europe. To illustrate the first observation, *Pen*, or *Cean*, *Lamb*, *Cran*, *Grian*, *Gealach*, *Carraig*, the head, the hand, a tree, the sun, the moon, a rock, are terms indisputably Celtick, which have no affinity to other languages; but *leabhar* a book, *litr* a letter, *leagham* to read, *sgriobham* to write, (from *liber*, *litera*, *lego*, *scribo*,) disprove the early pretensions of the Irish to letters⁵¹: *aradh* a plough, *araim* to till, *aran* bread, (from *aratrum*, *aro*, *arva*,) demonstrate that the British and Irish Celts, a hunting or pastoral people, derived the names and instruments of husbandry from the Romans; or gold, *airgead* silver, (from *aurum*, *argentum*,) that they were indebted to the same nation for the precious metals. As an example of the second observation, *Iarain*, *Pras*, *Copar*, *Luaidh*, iron, brass, copper, lead, were derived either from the Saxons, or from the Belgæ, eminently skilled, as appears from Strabo, in the metallick arts, and superior in arms to an enemy whose spears and arrows were pointed with flints, and whose stone hatchets are still denominated Celts. *Bial* and *Tuadh*, the battle-axe or hatchet, are adopted from the Swedish *Beyel*, the Belgick and Saxon *Tuych* and bill; *Claidheam* a sword, like the French and English *glaiue*, from the Latin *gladius*, Saighead from *sagitta*⁵²; and to illustrate both observations, *Cran-saor* a carpenter, is compounded of the Celtick *crann* a tree, and the Teutonick *saw*, the implement of his trade. Keeping these observations in view, we shall proceed to the supposed specimens of the original, which, without any previous acquaintance with the language, I have examined with more attention, perhaps, than the subject deserves.

2. The original Earle of Malvina's Dream, was produced by the translator, at lord Kaimes' request⁵³. The Malvina's dream.

⁵¹ Innes's Critical Essay, 444.

⁵² Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, 115. 451. O'Brian's Dict. Ihre's Gloss. Suec. Goth. Shilter's Thesaurus Antiq. Teut. Lye's Saxo. Goth. Dict.

⁵³ Inserted in Shaw's Analysis, Smith's Seandana, a translation of his own poems into Earle, p. 23. Perth Collection, 29.

greatest difficulty was to produce the English original; for a ballad in blank verse of eight syllables, with a few occasional rhymes⁵⁴, may enable us to conceive the extreme facility of composition in his vernacular tongue. In the following verses there are neither the numbers of ancient, nor the rhymes of modern poetry, nor the artful alliteration of the Scalds, but the same rude rhythm or cadence with his measured prose.

“ ‘Se guth anaim mo riun at ann !

“ It was the voice of my love ;

“ O’ f’ainmic gu aifling Mhalmhin, thu

“ Seldom in the dreams of Malvina art thou

54 Macpherson would have done better to have avoided rhyme altogether,—a corruption of Greek and Latin poetry, first introduced, on account of its extreme facility, into Monkish verses, see vol. i. p. 525. and adopted in Italian poetry in the middle of the ninth, into Saxon in the eleventh, and into Scandinavian poetry in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Tyrwhit’s Chaucer, iv. 49. Pinkerton’s Pref. to Barbour, 12. In Welsh poetry it was unknown to Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century, a sufficient proof that the rhymes of Taliesan and the Welsh bards are a more recent forgery. The introduction of occasional rhymes in Ossian, five hundred years before they were known in Europe, and a thousand before they were used in Wales, is alone a detection. But the rhythm of Macpherson’s Earse Ossian, to which there is no species of versification similar in the Welsh or Irish dialects of Celtick, seems to me to be constructed, with less licentiousness indeed, on the same principle of recitative or cadence, with his measured prose, in which each clause, *numerus lege solutus*, when the sentence is printed as in these specimens, is framed to represent to the eye as well as to the ear, an irregular verse. See his Pref. to Homer, 18. I have reason to believe that Macpherson wrote, or translated from his common place-book whatever he imitated, into Earse and English at the same time; and the uniform coincidence of the same verse with a corresponding clause in each sentence, can be explained only by the same thought being written and translated instantly by the same author. The original was thus produced in the progress of the work, and was sufficient to persuade his highland friends, that the Earse version, which they saw or perused in his own hand-writing, and of which they might acquire some fragments, was a literal transcript from the Red Book of Clanronald, or some Irish MS. which they were unable to read, but scrupled not to ascribe to the beginning of the fourteenth or of the thirteenth century.

“ Fofglaihse

"Fosglaibhfe *talla* nan *speur*,
 "Open your halls of the sky (airy halls),
 "Aithriche Thofcair nan cruai bheum,
 "Fathers of Toscar of hard blows (shields)."
 "Fosglaibhfe *dorfa* nan *nial*,
 "Open the doors (gates) of your clouds ;
 "Tha ceuma Mhalmhine gu dian,
 "The steps of Malvina (Malvina's departure) are
 "near."

If the mossy halls of Selma, its towers and its shaded walls, are inconsistent with the wattled huts of the third century, we discover here the Gothic hall and its doors, by name. *Talla*, a corruption of hall, neither occurs in O'Brian, nor in the old description of Tigh Teamhra⁵⁵, the hall or house of Temora ; and *dorus* a door, is a word equally universal among the Northern nations, and inconsistent with Ossian. *Speur*, *speir* the sky, is confessedly the Latin *sphæra*⁵⁶, transferred by the ignorance of the priests, from the starry spheres to the firmament itself. I shall be told indeed that the Greek *σφαῖρα* is derived from the Irish *speur* ; but those egregious etymologists forget, that the sphere signified nothing more than a ball or globe, even when transferred to the firmament which it was employed to represent. The last line, the steps of Malvina, in the first edition, of Malvina's departure, are near, is transcribed from scripture : "the time of my departure is at hand." 2 Tim. iv. 1. But the translator discovered that the Earse had no word equivalent to departure, as expressive of death, which was therefore omitted, and the voice of departed bards, from the poverty of the language, was translated *guth nam bard nach beo* ; not *being*, not alive.

"Chualam guth am aising fein,
 "I heard a voice in my dream ;

⁵⁵ Colle Glanea Hibern, iii. 513.

⁵⁶ O'Brian's Pref.

- " Tha farùm mo *chleibh* gu hard,
 " *The force of my chest beats high*, (I feel the fluttering
 of my soul).
 " Cuim thainig an òsag am dheigh,
 " Why camest thou, O blast, afterwards,
 " O dhubh-shuibhal na linn ud thall ?
 " From the dark rolling (face of) the lake,
 " Bha do sciath shuaimneach an gallan an abnàich,
 " Thy rustling wing was in the branches of the fir.
 " Shuibhail aisling Mal-mhine gu dian :
 " The dream of Malvina fled ;
 " Ach chunnaic is a run ag aomadh,
 " But she beheld her love inclining,
 " Sa cheo-*earradh* ag taomadh m'achfàbh ;
 " His misty array poured from his breast (flew on the
 wind) ;
 " Bha dearfa na grein air thaobh ris,
 " The sun-beam was on his skirt ;
 " Co boisgeal ri or nan daimh,
 " It glittered like the gold of the stranger."

As each language has certain metaphorical idioms, easily distinguished when transferred to another, a chest applied to the human trunk or chest, or a trunk inversely to a chest, is peculiar to the English ; the wing of an house or an army, is adopted from the Latin ; the wings of the morning and of the winds from scripture ; and the last, I believe as a Latin idiom, *levibus ventorum adremigat alis*, is to be found only where it was unavoidable, in Buchanan's Psalms. The first has been translated into Irish, like *cran criath* the trembling poplar. But that Ossian, anticipating the English idiom, should employ *Cliadh* a basket, literally the same with Cista, for the human chest, will be believed only by those who are already persuaded that the rustling wing of the blast preceded the translation of the Psalms into Earse. The robe of mist that flew on the winds, contains a double detection.

Earradh

Orradb is literally the English *array*, from the Teutonick *raia, rada, ordo*; hence raiment, array; *taomadb*, to pour out, to empty, is the Icelandick *temor*; the Danish *tom*, and the Scottish *tume*. Unable to translate into verse, "it flew on the wind," the Author adopted *Taomadb*, it poured from his breast; a word repeatedly employed in *Temora*, the next specimen, for pouring mist on the warrior's grave. "A sun-beam was on his skirt; it glittered like the gold of the stranger;" an imitation of Milton's angel-wings;

"Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold;"

may contain *or*, the Latin *aurum*, with less impropriety; but in a subsequent passage, "the day of the sun," (as *dia-ful*, or *greine*, would resolve into Sunday,) is translated 'S'grian *orradh* na beinn, the sun, according to the English idiom, gilding the hills.

"Is connuidh dhuit *anam* Malmhine,
 "But thou dwellest in the soul of Malvina;
 "Mhic Oisian is treine lamh,
 "Son of Ossian of the mighty hand.
 "Eirig m' ofna mar re deursa on ear;
 "My sighs arise with the beams of the east;
 "Thaomma *dheoir ammeasg* fìleadh nah'oiche,
 "My tears descend amidst the drops of night."

Anam from *anima*, *deur* a tear, derived by Lloyd himself from the Teutonick, *ammeasg* amidst, expressions which no simplicity can impute to Ossian, instead of the second, demonstrate a recent translation, into a mixed language of the eighteenth century. The scriptural style of the Psalmist, and Job, is preserved in Earle, "My sighs arise with the morning, my tears descend with

57 Ruddiman's Glossary to Gawin Douglas's translation of Virgil. Instead of *Taomadb*, Smith substitutes *Taofga*, pumped out of his breast; and instead of *Orradb*, the Perth editors have *Scarba*, the sun separated on the hill; both nonsense.

“ the drops of night ;” and *dearfa on Ear* is a literal translation of our poetical idiom, the beams of the east. Without pursuing the examination farther, I shall bring the translation to an immediate test. The joy of grief is an abstract, and refined expression of the pleasure with which we dwell on fictitious distress ; an idea infinitely too complex for a barbarian, but a subject much canvassed at the time by Burke and Smith. The expression perhaps is more poetical than just : the satisfaction arising from fictitious woe may amount to pleasure, but can never constitute positive joy. But the “ joy of grief,” is an original expression of curious felicity, which it is impossible to translate with the same energy into another language.

“ Is caoin faiteal nam fonn Mhalmhine,
 “ The musick of songs is pleasant, Malvina ;
 “ Ach claonaidh iad *anam* go *deoir* ;
 “ But they oppress the soul with tears :
 “ Tha *solas* ann *tuireadb*, le sith ;
 “ There is a joy in grief with peace,
 “ Nùir dhaomas cliabh *tuirse* gu bron,
 “ When it dwells in the breast of the sad.”

Solas is literally *solatium*, *solace* ; *tuireadb* a request, a dirge, sorrow, is derived from *tuirse tired* ⁵⁸ ; but the question would appear an insult to the most credulous understanding, whether *Tha solas an tuireadb*, was an expression used by Ossian in the third century, or by Macpherson, unable to give an adequate translation of the joy of grief.

Temora, L.
vii.

3. The seventh book of the Temora, annexed in Earse to the first editions as a specimen of the original, is translated from the English ; and exhibits the whole mythology of mist.

⁵⁸ Lloyd's pref. translated in Nicolson's Irish Hist. lib. 17. p. 109.

“ O Linna

" O Linna doir choille na Lego,
 " From the lake's woody thicketsof Lego ;
 " *Air uair*, eri ceo taobh-ghorm nan ton,
 " At times ascend the mists blue skirted of waves ;
 " Nuair dhunas *dorfa* na h'oiche,
 " When shut are the gates of night
 " *Air iùlluir-shuil greina nan speur*
 " On the eagle-eyed fun of the sky."

The moon is again compared from Milton, "to a dun
 " shield swimming through the folds of mist, with which
 " the spirits of old clothe their sudden gestures, when,
 " blended with the gale, to some warrior's grave they
 " roll the mist ; ' a grey dwelling to his ghost until the
 " song shall arise."

" An taobh oitaig, gu *pàlin* nan seoid,
 " Joined with the gale, to the grave of heroes,
 " *Taomas* iad ceach nan *speur*,
 " Pour they the mist of the sky ;
 " *Gorm-thalla* do thannais nach beo,
 " A blue hall to the ghosts of the (not being) departed,
 " Gu am eri fon marbhran nan teud.
 " Till arises the (death) song on the string."

Homer's heroes could not descend to the shades till
 their obsequies were performed. Neither can Ossian's
 ghosts ascend the clouds without their dirge ; but the
 imitation is dearly purchased by the modern words to
 which the author was reduced. Not to mention *dorfa*,
speur, *taomas*, *thalla*, already examined ; *air uair* at times,
 is literally hourly ; and as a mark of derivation, *uair* an
 hour, whether from the Latin *bora*, or the English hour,
 is never applied, except in composition, to time in general ;
 the original signification of *ωρα* in Greek. The warrior's

grave is translated *palin*, a shroud, from the Latin *pallium*, and the English *pall*; and Fílan's ghost addresses Fíngal,

"An cedal fo, don *fhear-phósda* aig Clatho,
"Sleeps the husband of Clatho?"

Fhear, *vir*, the Gothic *wer* and the Saxon *uer* (*wer-guild*), may be classed perhaps among those original words, for the coincidence of which etymologists must ascend to the circles of Gomar; but *phósda* spouse, *posadh* espousals, are evidently derived from the Latin *sponsalia*, corrupted, like *taibeach* baptism, when introduced as a sacrament by the Irish priests⁵⁹. When Fíngal strikes his shield, the screaming fowls are heard in the desert; and *saighé*, a desert, repeatedly occurs. The sons of Selma are the sons of the desert; Fíngal's poetical designation in the fragments, was "the desert of the hills;" but the name alone is a sufficient detection. The desert is a correlative term, suggested by its contrast with peopled or cultivated fields; but as all places were equally desert, to a tribe of hunters who subsisted in the desert, there was no relative to suggest the idea or the name. The same observation is applicable to autumn's dark storms. Among hunters who have neither harvest nor fruits, "Autumni perinde nomen et bona ignorantur." Whitaker, who read Ossian only in English, pronounces steel an early British manufacture, as it was distinguished (before iron) by an original name in the Irish language, "the fairest mirror of the British original." *Cruadh* hard, is equally applied to *cruadh*, a stone, and to *cruaidh*, steel; but in these specimens of Ossian, steel, the German *stabel*,

⁵⁹ *Eon Baiste*, John the Baptist. O'Brian, in the true spirit of etymology, converts *Posadh* into *Eosadh* to derive it, by a double operation, from *Be* a Cow, as the dowry among the Germans was paid in cattle. But Fíngal had neither cattle nor herds, from which the *fhear-phósda* of Clatho could derive that name.

the Saxon and Scandinavian *ſtall*, is repeated by name.

“Gníomh bu *chrúai*

“Hardy deeds.

“Leth dhoiller an deallín na *ſtallín*

“Half hid in the coals (bright gleams) of steel.

“Chuinic is é na *ſtáin chrúai*

“She ſaw him in his hard ſteel.”

The ancients were indebted to the Chalybeans for the manufacture and name of ſteel, but it is obſervable that *Chalybs* is very ſeldom employed, like *Ferrum*, metaphorically for a ſword; never for armour, which was generally of braſs. But the Engliſh name and idiom of ſteel for armour, are aſſigned by Macpherson, from his own Highlander, “ſteel ſpeaks on ſteel,” to the third century, when ſteel was ſeldom or never uſed in armour by the Romans themſelves. After this paſſage, the application of *barbarous* to Cathmor’s ſoul, may excite the leſs ſurpriſe.

“Ni moſguil cunart *anam borb*,

“Can danger awake (alarm) his barbarous (fierce)

“ſoul;

“Ach ní’n *ſolas* do m’ *anam tla*,

“But it gives no ſolace to my ſoft ſoul.”

In the deſcription of Cathmor’s ſhield, an obvious imitation of the ſhield of Achilles, I was curious to know what term would be employed for the ſounding boſs. *Crun* a crown, *cnap* a knob, were inadequate to the effect, and boſs itſelf was too groſs to be tranſcribed.

“Seached *coppain* a b’h’ air an ſciath

“Seven boſſes roſe on the ſhield,

“Seached

DISSERTATION ON

" Seached *focul* an *riob* dō *shluagh*;
 " Seven voices to the kings of the army;
 " A thaomagh air ofna nan speur,
 " When poured on the blast of the sky,
 " Air finacha mor nam Bolg
 " On the great nation of the Belgæ,
 " Air gach *copan* ta reul do noiche,
 " On each bos was a star of night,
 " Cean mathon," &c.

The same terms are repeatedly employed. Bhuail en sciath as fuaimnach *cop*, struck the shield of the founding bos; Chualas le sciath nan *cop*, she heard the shield of the bos.

" Ach ta m *fhocul* le eunairt nan Erin,
 " But my voice is (I warn you of) the danger of
 Erin,
 " An cualas duit *coppa* na fuaim
 " Heard you the found of the bos."

The reader may be surprised to learn that *focal* is literally *vocalio* a vowel, *foclair* a vocabulary, and *coppa* the Saxon, and German *cup*. If a circumstance can render the detection more complete, the hundred cups of the Irish ballad of Erragon, are converted, in the battle of Lora, into ten shells (*shlogh*) studded with gems, that gladdened once the kings of the world. But in Cathmor's marvellous shield, *copa* a cup, so fastidiously rejected as unknown to Ossian in its proper signification⁶⁰, is applied

⁶⁰ "It is worthy of being remarked," says Macpherson on the English word *case*, (supra 429.) in the Irish ballad of Fingal and Magnus, "that Ossian, who lived in St. Patrick's days, seems to have understood something of English, a language not then subsisting." Ossian, ii. 276. *Barcas* a bark, *storm* a storm, *Carbad* carborne, *baiste* a beast, occur in Smith, the difference between whom and Macpherson is, that the latter imitated the classics, while Smith and Clark imitate Macpherson.

metaphorically to the seven bosses tipt with seven stars of night; that spoke like a peal of bells, each in a separate voice or vowel, to seven kings. After such gross detection, it is unnecessary to examine more than Larthon's dream, and the description of his ship.

- "Thanic aslin gu Learthon nan *long*,
- "Dreams came to Larthon of ships;
- "Seached *samla* do'n *lina* nach beo,
- "Seven spirits of the generations that are past.
- "Chualas an guth *brista*, trom,
- "He heard their broken voices (asleep) heavy,
- "Thaom iad am *feachda* fein,
- "Poured they their forces (fights),
- "Mar cheadh a terna on bhein
- "Like mist along the descent of the hill."

Samlis, semblance, a word I believe of the author's coinage, from Samhuil, similis; *Lina*, literally a line or lineage, (*linns-gearadb*) a genealogy, are both from the Latin; *brista*, a Teutonick word, is the German *bresten*, the French *briser*, the Saxon *bursten*, the Scottish *brist*, to break or burst; but *feachda*, battles, forces, *fights*, from *feachtba* "was fought, indicates equal confidence in deceit, and contempt for the credulous simplicity of mankind.

- "Leathain scaoile *seoil* bhan an *righ*,
- "Wide spread the sails of the king.
- "Leum *loingheas* o'thon, gu thon,
- "Leapt the ship from wave to wave.
- "Ni m facas leo riamh an *long*,
- "Never had they seen a ship,
- "Cear *Marchadh* a chuain mhoir,
- "Dark horseman (rider) of the ocean."

61 Ihre, Junius. Lye. O'Brian.

Loingheas

Leingheas and *long* are indisputably derived from the *naves longe* of the Romans and of the middle ages; *feoil* are the English sails, from the Saxon *segel*, *seyl*, an universal word among the Northern nations; and *marcadb*, from the Teutonic *mark*, a horse, is still retained in *marishal* and *mare*⁶². Riding, applied in English to ships, is a familiar idiom; and the dark riders of Ocean, an easy metaphor, not to be translated with impunity into a different language. The steeds and coursers of Ocean, are metaphors frequently used by the *Scalds*; *Eurus per Siculas equitavit undas*, occurs in Horace; but a name for the rider, from *rede* a chariot, distinct from that of the horse, is peculiar to the English and other Gothic languages; and *Marchadb a chuain mboir*, the horseman of the great sea, is a harsh, and obvious translation of the rider of ocean, equally ridiculous with *eques maris* in Latin, or *Cavalier de la mer*, were it translated into French. From the specimens already published, the language is indisputably of a recent growth; and from the preceding detections, it is not difficult to predict, that the publication of an Earle Ossian will counteract the design, and reflect utter discredit on the whole poems.

The deceit
avowed by
Macpher-
son.

VIII. 1. Macpherson himself has in fact avowed the deceit. In the first edition of Fingal, he concludes a dissertation on the Era, or antiquity of Ossian, with the affected modesty of a young translator doubtful of success: "That his translation is literal; that the translator, as he claims no merit from his version, wishes that the

⁶² *Seel* a sail in Earle and Irish, not in the Welsh. Bullet and O'Brian have assigned *Marc* to the Celtick, as it occurs in Pausanias's Account of the Irruption of the Gauls into Greece. Paus. Phoc. But the *Marcomanni* were a German tribe, and *Merula* (Cosmogr. 421), and P'inkerton have proved indisputably from Jerome, that the *Galatæ* of Asia minor, were German Gauls, who spoke the same language with the *Treviri* or inhabitants of Triers, a tribe originally German. Tacitus Germ. c. 28. Dissertation on the Scythians and Goths. 148. See Meric Casaub. de quatuor Linguis Comment. 139.

"imperfect

“imperfect resemblance he draws, may not prejudice the world against an original which contains what (ever) is beautiful in simplicity, or grand in the sublime⁶³.” Not satisfied with a doubtful translation, a man of letters, possessed of an original manuscript, comments and dwells upon it; communicates it with rapture to his friends; conveys it in a faithful edition to the world; deposits it in some public library for the inspection of the curious, and finally bequeaths it to some public institution. But Macpherson informs us in an advertisement prefixed to Fingal, “That he was advised by some *men of genius* his friends, to print the originals by subscription, as a better way to satisfy the public concerning their authenticity, than to deposit the manuscript *copies* in a public library; but as no subscribers appeared, he takes it for the judgment of the public (a strange conclusion) that neither the one nor the other was necessary. However, he assures the public of a design to print the originals, as soon as the translator shall have time *to transcribe them* for the press; and if this publication shall not take place, *copies* will then be deposited in one of the public libraries, to prevent so ancient a monument of genius from being lost.” That he was then preparing, and ready to publish an Earle version, had it proved as profitable as the English original, I have no doubt. In the Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, prefixed to the Temora, adverting to the insinuations made, and the doubts entertained respecting their authenticity, “To me,” he says, “they give no concern, as *I have it always in my power* to remove them.” From this self-denying power to produce the originals, we must conclude that the Earle version, now to be imposed on the public, was then executed. Ten years afterwards, when the reputation of Ossian, and the foundations of his own fortune were established, Macpherson, in an im-

⁶³ Fingal, 1st edit. p. 16.

In his Dissertation.

proved edition of the poems, assumes a higher tone. At the same time that he asserts their authenticity, he insinuates his claim to the whole merit or infamy of the imposture, the motive of which he condescends in the same dissertation to explain. "Those who alone are capable of transferring (not translating) ancient poetry into a modern language, might be better employed in giving *originals of their own*, were it not for that wretched envy and meanness which affects to despise *contemporary genius*. "My first publication was merely accidental. Had I then met with less approbation, my after pursuits would have been more profitable. Whether the suspicions concerning the authenticity of the poems are suggested by prejudice or malice, I neither know nor care. Those who have doubted my veracity, have paid a compliment to my genius, and were even the allegation true, *my self-denial might have atoned for my fault*. I assure my antagonists, that I should not translate what I could not imitate; but an age that produces few marks of genius, ought to be sparing of admiration; and unless genius were in fashion, Homer himself might have written in vain. Were my aim to gain the *many*, I would write a madrigal sooner than an *heroick poem* ⁶⁴." Here his motives are distinctly explained. The miscarriage of his first Epic, the Highlander, was secretly ascribed to the envy and meanness which affect to despise contemporary genius. The encouragement given to his first avowed production, the Fragments, induced him to persist in the imposition, which is carefully extenuated, and faintly denied. Whether the suspicions concerning the authenticity of the poems were the result of prejudice or malice, he declares with indifference, *nec scio nec scire cupio*; and does more than insinuate that the translator was at least equal in genius to his supposed original. Instead of vindicating

64 Ossian's Poems, ii. 259—61. edit. 1773.

the authenticity of his own, he enters into an angry examination of the Irish poems, *which were all in his hands*; and allowing for his habitual fiction, are the identical; and the only originals which Hill and the bishop of Clonmore discovered, or the Perth editors of the Gaelic Poems could procure in the highlands. For the authenticity of the originals, he discovers a supine indifference or contempt. But his jealousy of the Irish pretensions to Ossian, and his parental solicitude for the poems, which he observes with truth, “cannot well belong to Ireland and to me at once,” can be compared to nothing else than the resentment of a man who receives with visible complacency, an intimation that he had provided a son and heir for his deceased friend; but is quite enraged, and indignant only then, when another claims a share in the supposititious birth.

2. But the Preface, which is always last written, avows the deception in the most unequivocal terms. “Without *increasing his genius*, the author may have improved his language, in the eleven years that the poems have been in the hands of the public. Errors in diction might have been committed at twenty-four, which the experience of a riper age may remove, and some *exuberances in imagery* may be restrained with advantage, by a degree of judgment acquired in the progress of time.—In a convenient indifference for a literary reputation, the *author* hears praise without being elevated, and ribaldry without being depressed.—The taste which defines genius by the points of the compass, however ludicrous in itself, is *often a serious matter in the sale of a work*. When rivers define the limits of abilities, as well as of countries, a writer may measure his success by the latitude under which he was born. It was to avoid a part of this inconvenience, that the author is said by some, who speak without any authority, to have ascribed his own productions to another name. If this was the case, he was but young in the art

“ of deception, as the translator, when he placed his author
 “ in antiquity, should have been born on this side the
 “ Tweed.—But the truth is, that to judge aright requires
 “ almost as much genius as to write well ; and good
 “ critics are almost as rare as great poets. Though two
 “ hundred thousand Romans stood up when Virgil came
 “ into the theatre, Varius only could correct the *Æneid*.—
 “ The novelty of cadence, in what is called a prose version,
 “ though not destitute of harmony, will not, to common
 “ readers, supply the absence of the frequent returns of
 “ rhyme. This was the opinion of the *writer* himself,
 “ whose first intention was to publish in verse ; and as the
 “ making of poetry may be learned by industry, he had
 “ served his apprenticeship, *though in secret*, to the muses.”
 As a proof that prose was adopted not from necessity but
 choice, he proceeds to the most impudent fiction of the
 whole ; the maid of Lulan, a poem lost in the original
 Norse, but preserved by tradition in an Earse translation,
transferred into English, and inserted in his preface both in
 prose and verse. “ *The writer*,” he concludes, “ has
 “ now resigned the poems to their fate ;” of the foreign
 versions, he observes, that “ genuine poetry, like gold,
 “ loses little when properly transfused ;” and with an
 implied reference to himself, that “ the translator who
 “ *cannot equal his original*, is incapable of expressing its
 “ beauties.”

Claims the
 poems as
 his own.

Here, if there is a meaning in words, Macpherfon
 vindicates and appropriates the poems expressly to him-
 self. He intimates almost in direct terms, that he, the
 author who without increasing his genius, in eleven
 years has improved his language, and restrained the ex-
 uberance of his imagery ; the writer, equally qualified to
 excel in prose and verse ; the supposed translator, who
 alone, like Varius, can equal his original, to avoid the
 invidious opposition of national prejudices, (a serious
 consideration in the sale of a work,) has ascribed his
 poems to a remote antiquity, and another name. The
 applause

applause of reviewers was re-echoed by Blair and Kaims, whose injudicious, yet ingenious criticisms had placed the Celtic bard on a level with Milton, Virgil, and Homer himself. The laborious Henry, the fantastical Whitaker, adopted Ossian as genuine history; and Macpherson, exulting in their applause, and his own success, entered the preceding caveat, as a guarded, yet solemn protestation, lest the poems should descend to posterity, while the real author was defrauded of his fame. It was still necessary not to disabuse his countrymen, nor to disappoint, by a more explicit declaration, their credulous hopes of an epic poem in Earse. His dispute with Johnson, and the scurrilous controversy between Shaw and Clark, taught him that a moral character should still be sustained; and he continued to fluctuate till his death, between the care of his reputation, and the character of an original poet, which he was desirous to assume. A subscription of a thousand pounds, from his countrymen in the East Indies, which he had retained in his own hands while alive, was bequeathed to his friends, to publish the Earse version which he had formerly prepared. With the same hesitation between the adverse characters of translator and author, he provided a niche for himself among the English poets, after his decease, and if not the first translator, was certainly the first poet from Badenoch, whose remains were transported to Westminster Abbey.

3. I know not by what arguments it is possible to transfer to Ossian, or to the third century, the poems which Macpherson has produced and claimed as his own. It is not sufficient to affirm that the translator has suppressed the originals, in order to appropriate the poems to himself; for no motive could have induced him to destroy the original MSS. when he left an Earse version to be published, unless these were merely the Irish ballads, the preservation of which would have exposed the whole

His works
estimated,

deceit. The mediocrity of his other productions is not sufficient; for the style of Ossian may convince the world, that he must creep on the earth unless he soars sublime. It discovers bold experiments in language, rich sentimental description, if sometimes pathetic, more frequently turgid than sublime; but contains no accurate delineation of character, no observations on human nature, no research into human actions, no artful transitions, nor talent for narration or plot; nothing in fact, either chaste or sober, that could be transferred with advantage to the historical page. In Dow's History of Indostan, in which Gibbon justly suspected that the style of Ferishta was improved by that of Ossian, he indulged the epic extravagance of his genius uncontrouled. His Introduction even to the History of Britain, is grossly embellished with a Celtic fable, borrowed from Procopius and some Eastern tale, of a bard who visited the Fortunate Islands for a few days, and discovered that two centuries had elapsed on his return⁶⁵. His History of Britain is a dull and hasty chronological abstract from Ralph, and the State Papers collected by Carte and himself. But the plot and incidents of Ossian, its tumid Preface and Dissertations, demonstrate that, however qualified to improve upon a few facts, he was incapable, or insensible to the value, of a judicious arrangement, solid argument, or profound investigation. When we consider Ossian alone, or the temptation to emerge from an obscure indigence, the acknowledgment which he has made might atone for a deception so grateful to his countrymen, had he not bequeathed such spurious originals as we have examined, to be published by his friends; one of whom I know to be a man of worth and letters, though deceived by the imposture, as I was once myself. Instead of being precluded, at a maturer age, from the cultivation of poetry, he might have acquired a more durable and legi-

⁶⁶ P. 181. Gibbon's Hist. x. 343. 8vo. edit.

timate reputation, had he trusted, like Thomson in the same obscure situation, to the native force of his own genius; nor availed himself of the national credulity by an imposture not so difficult as Psalmanazar's, though more successful. But when his impure hands are imposed on history, the misquotations and fictions detected in his Introduction ⁶⁷, and his cold malignity towards the most illustrious characters, should teach us to receive his Original Papers with extreme distrust; and we must regret that the State Papers of the Stewarts and of William, by some strange fatality, were reserved for Dalrymple and the translator of Ossian.

4. After all, these arguments are easily answered, but not by abuse. A single manuscript is worth a thousand arguments. If a single poem of Ossian in manuscript, such as translated by Macpherson, of a decent length, and the MS. indisputably of an older date than the present century, be produced and lodged in a public library, I shall return among the first to our national Creed. But popular arguments are no answer to pointed objections or historical facts; much less will abuse suffice to restore the lost authenticity of Ossian's poems. The most bigoted must acknowledge, that the refined poetry which they admire so much, was more likely to be produced by a cultivated genius of the present, than by an illiterate bard of the third century; and his reputed countrymen may rest satisfied with the honour and consolation to be derived from an Epic poet in modern times.

Test of the
authenti-
city of
Ossian.

⁶⁷ Genuine Hist. of the Britons asserted, 297. Whitaker's politeness to a man whom he had convicted of "such a gross perversion even of his own quotations, such plain and manifest corruptions even of his own authorities, such erazings of records, such falsifications of histories," forms a signal contrast to his scurrilous abuse of the late Dr. Robertson, whom, from a minute examination of the most disputed passages of his history, I cannot hesitate to pronounce the most faithful of historians.



I N D E X.

N. B. *The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume, and the Figures to the Page.*

- A****BERDEEN** sacked by Montrose, i. 253. surrenders to Monk, 431.
 —, earl of, chancellor, ii. 120. Undermined at court, 131. His defection from the country party carries the vote for a treaty of union, 290.
Abbyn, lord, second son of the earl of Huntley, besieged in Carlisle, i. 255. Joins Montrose, 298 *note*.
Accession of James VI. to the throne of England, i. 2. 4.
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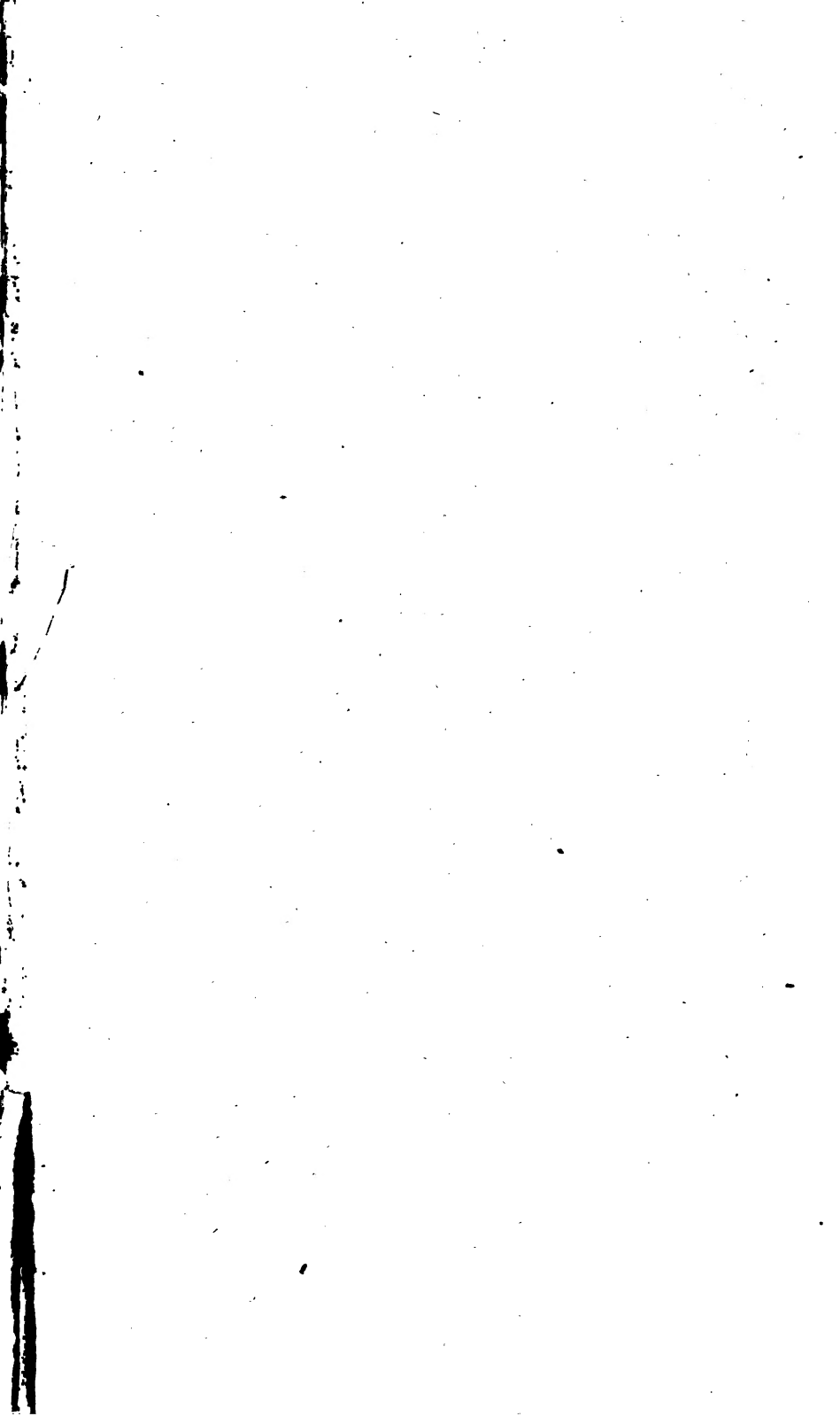
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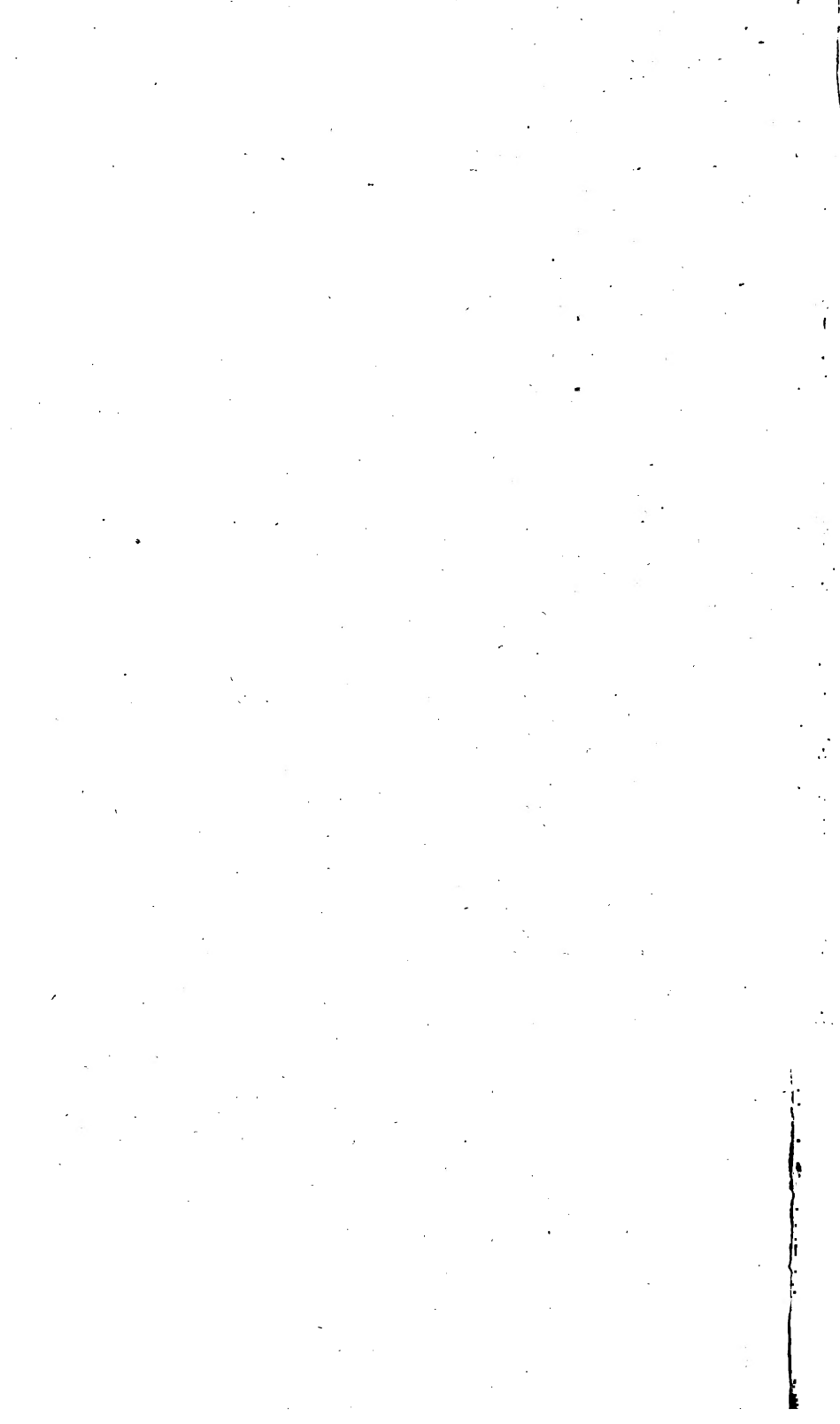
THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

ERRATA TO VOL. II.

- Page 5. line 1. *note, and elsewhere, for Woodrow read Wodrow*
 54. — 11. *for on read in obtaining*
 121. — 1. *for a sermon read sermon*
 138. — 9. *note, for Buckingham read Buckinghamshire*
 175. — 3. *note, for himself read his son*
 186. — 8. *note, for Parl read part*
 188. — 17. *for declarations read deliberations*
 327. — 3. *for farce read force*
 337. — 2. *note, for Sunderland read Sutherland*







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